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HISTORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ORGANIZATION IN THE NORTHWEST

1824-1840

By HOMER J. WEBSTER, Ph. D.
Department of History, University of Pittsburgh

HISTORY

OF THE

Democratic Party Organization in the Northwest

1824 - 1840

By HOMER J. WEBSTER, PH. D.,
Department of History,
University of Pittsburgh

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PITTSBURGH, PA., January, 1915.

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Ohio State Library, Columbus.
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Cincinnati Public Library.
Indiana State Library, Indianapolis.
Indianapolis Public Library.
Illinois Historical Society, Springfield.
Chicago Historical Society.
Detroit Public Library.
The C. M. Burton Historical Collection, Detroit.

The best national paper on this subject was the *United States Telegraph* until the defection of the editor, Duff Green, in favor of Calhoun about the middle of 1831. Then the *Globe* was established and continued as the orthodox Administration paper. In Ohio, the best papers were the *National Republican* and *Cincinnati Gazette* at Cincinnati, the *St. Clairsville Gazette* in the eastern part of the state, and later the *Western Hemisphere,* which continued as the *Ohio Statesman,* at Columbus. These papers, too, represented three important centres of Democratic activity. In Indiana the situation in this respect was very similar to that in Ohio. There were first two active Democratic centres on opposite sides of the state, each of which had a good local paper, the *Indiana Palladium* at Lawrenceburgh and the *Western Sun* at Vincennes. Then later, August, 1830, came the establishment at Indianapolis of the *Indiana Democrat,* one of the leading Democratic papers in the Northwest. In Illinois, the best sources of information were found in the *Illinois State Register* published at Vandalia, and later at Springfield, the *Sangamo Journal* at Springfield, and the *Chicago Democrat,* established in 1833. The best Michigan papers were the *Detroit Daily Free Press,* the

Niles Gazette and Advertiser, and the *Niles Intelligencer.* Several of the editors of these Michigan papers had previously edited papers in New York state, the training school for Democratic organization.

Although most of the material has come from Democratic papers, the Whig papers have often been found a valuable check upon these sources. Much of the material used, however, has been of such a character as not to encourage flagrant misrepresentation and much of it could be found only in papers of the Democratic party.

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CHAPTER I.

BEGINNINGS OF PARTY ORGANIZATION (OHIO AND INDIANA).

The year 1824 was a turning point in the history of American political parties. The all absorbing party, if all the people may be said to constitute a party, which had unanimously supported Monroe in 1820, was then dividing into several groups, each of which supported its favorite candidate for the presidency on purely personal grounds. The congressional caucus also made its last appearance that year in nominating William H. Crawford for president. The next few years formed a transitional period from the felicitous days of the single, great, harmonious party of 1820 to the struggle between two rival descendants of that party. This division was based on personal grounds in 1824 and also in 1828. But as party lines became more clearly drawn, as in 1832 and 1836, and as the members of the two parties were called upon to give reasons for the faith or lack of faith that was in them, the divisions came to be based, or at least were supposed to be based, upon political principles. In order that these personal preferences and political principles might be effective it was necessary that the party which held them should be in power. This meant that it should win the elections and this in turn that it must be organized. In the old Northwest, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, the Democratic or Jacksonian party led the way in this party organization by introducing the delegate and convention system. In 1824 the supporters of Jackson began to organize and by 1840 they became a well organized and unified party. It was largely by means of their organization that they gained control in 1828 and retained it until 1840. It is the purpose of this work to trace the early stages and the development of this Democratic party organization in the Northwest during this period, from its very beginning to the completely developed convention system, with its network of township, county, district,

and state meetings, and its various committees of vigilance and correspondence.

Ohio and Indiana first developed political party organization in the Northwest. Ohio, the older and more populous state, showed more political organization in local centres and preceded Indiana in this activity by a few months, yet by 1836 Indiana had developed a distinctly better centralized system. Illinois adopted less readily the delegate and convention system and was later in the development of its party organization, but from 1835 to 1840, it made rapid advancement along these lines, and by the latter date compared favorably with the older states. Michigan, although not admitted to statehood until shortly after the election of 1836, participated in that campaign just as the other states, and had developed a good party organization at that time.

Early Steps Toward Organization, 1824.

In Ohio, in the winter of 1823-24, there was much uncertainty and confusion concerning the choice of a presidential candidate. As a result of this, Jackson's name was presented in different connections as a candidate for vice-president as well as for president. Thus at a meeting of the citizens of Jefferson County, December 2, 1823, resolutions were adopted favoring De Witt Clinton for president and Andrew Jackson for vice-president.[1] Two weeks later a meeting of the citizens of Hamilton County adopted these same resolutions.[2] This meeting was divided in opinion, however, as to whether Jackson should not be its candidate for president instead of Clinton, but upon putting it to a vote, Clinton was supported by 450 to 330. These same nominations were made by the citizens of Geauga County in January, 1824.[3] By April, news was received which was considered unfavorable to the candidacy of Clinton and in consequence of this, the movement to promote his election was abandoned.[4] Another combination called the "People's Ticket," pub-

[1] *National Republican and Ohio Political Register* (Cincinnati), Dec. 16, 1823; *Ohio Monitor and Patron of Industry* (Columbus), Jan. 3, 1824.

[2] *National Republican*, Dec. 19, 1823.

[3] *Ibid*, Feb. 13, 1824.

[4] *Ibid*, Apr. 1, 1824.

lished in a Cincinnati paper, proposed Adams for president and Jackson for vice-president.[5] This ticket was supported as late as June by a meeting in Washington County.[6]

The first meetings in Ohio which nominated Jackson for president appear to have been those held in Wayne and Adams Counties in March, 1824.[7] That the followers of Adams and Jackson were at that time just finding themselves is evident from the proceedings of the Adams County meeting.[8] Jackson and Adams were both considered for president but the majority favored Jackson and he was recommended; also an elector for him for that congressional district. County meetings were recommended throughout the state to take similar action. There was some discussion on the resolution to have the proceedings published as the voice of the county, but the majority favored it and prevailed, although the chairman and secretary were in the minority. The editor of the local paper, a Jackson man, suggested that the friends of Adams had the liberty to call counter meetings, and that he would cheerfully publish their proceedings.

This plan whereby a county meeting nominated the presidential elector for the congressional district was followed in a number of instances at this time. Meetings were held in Hamilton County in April[9] and in Washington County in May,[10] both of which pursued this method; both appointed committees of correspondence for their respective counties; and both recommended similar meetings throughout the state to nominate electors for Jackson. The Hamilton and Adams County meetings adopted in substance the preamble of a recent Philadelphia meeting which showed that they were somewhat in touch with political activities east of the Alleghanies.

A decided step toward united action was taken when a meeting of the Jackson committee of correspondence for Hamilton

[5] *Cincinnati Emporium,* Apr. 1, 1824.
[6] *Ibid,* July 1, 1824.
[7] *National Republican,* Apr. 6, 1824.
[8] *Ibid,* Apr. 6, 1824.
[9] *Ibid,* Apr. 20, 1824; *Cincinnati Emporium,* Apr. 22, 1824.
[10] *National Republican,* May 28, 1824.

County on May 29, adopted the following preamble and resolutions:[11]

"*Whereas,* It has been suggested and recommended by several of the Jackson committees of correspondence in this state * * * therefore,

"*Resolved,* That the friends and supporters of General Jackson in the several counties in the state of Ohio be requested to send delegates to a convention to be held at the town of Columbus, July 14 next, for the purpose of agreeing on two candidates at large for electors of president and vice-president; to fill all vacancies which may then exist in the general ticket for the state; and to adopt such other measures as may be necessary and proper to promote the election of the Jackson electoral ticket of Ohio.

"*Resolved,* That the editors and printers of Ohio be requested to publish the above for the information of the people."

In pursuance of this call, in the next six weeks there was a series of county meetings which appointed committees of correspondence, recommended electors for their respective congressional districts, and appointed delegates to the state convention.[12]

This convention met July 14 and agreed upon the sixteen electors for Jackson.[13] The delegates had been instructed in most cases whom to name for their respective congressional districts, so that the work of the convention was merely to confirm the nominations, supply any vacancy, and nominate the two senatorial electors. A committee of correspondence of three was appointed with power to fill any vacancies which might occur in the electoral ticket. This committee was requested to prepare and publish an address to the people of Ohio on the approaching election. There is evidence that this committee solicited and opened correspondence with similar committees in other states.[14]

During the summer and fall of 1824, the Jackson committee of correspondence of Hamilton County was very active. At a meeting on July 24, it was resolved that their stated meetings should be held at 3 P. M. on the first and third Saturdays of each

[11] *National Republican,* June 1, 1824.
[12] *Ibid,* June, July, 1824; *Ohio Monitor,* July, 1824.
[13] *National Republican,* July 27, 1824; *Ohio Monitor,* July 31, 1824.
[14] *National Republican,* Oct. 1, 1824.

month until after the election.[15] This committee was repeatedly increased in number during that time. Beginning with fifteen members, it was gradually increased to one hundred and ninety-eight by the twenty-fourth of September, of which one hundred and twenty-one were from Cincinnati.[16] That the interests of the committee were not confined to Hamilton County is evidenced by their resolution passed on August 21, which read: "that it is the opinion of this committee that the persons appointed to publish the address of the convention at Columbus should immediately proceed to the publication thereof."[17] The secretary of the Hamilton County committee was Elijah Hayward, editor of the *National Republican* in Cincinnati, who was also chairman of the state committee of correspondence appointed at the state convention. This secured a close connection between the organizations of Cincinnati, Hamilton County, and the state. For a few weeks preceding the fall election the Jackson committees for each of the four wards of Cincinnati met "every Thursday evening at early candle-light,"[18] and several of the townships of the county were active in their support of Jackson, each having its committee of correspondence.[19]

The friends of Jackson in Franklin County were also taking steps to promote his election and had appointed a committee of forty-six for that purpose. The chairman called a meeting of this committee on October 25, just preceding the election, and recommended the township committees of the county each to appoint a delegate to represent them in this meeting and thus cooperate with the general committee of the county.[20] Electoral tickets favorable to Jackson were provided by the committee.

Viewing the situation generally at this time, while there was much activity in some local centres, it did not extend widely over the state. There were county meetings to elect delegates to the state convention and these also often nominated electors; but ex-

[15] *National Republican*, Aug. 6, 1824.
[16] *Ibid*, Sept. 24, 1824.
[17] *Ibid*, Aug. 27, 1824.
[18] *Ibid*, Oct. 12, 1824.
[19] *Ibid*, June 11, 1824.
[20] *Ohio Monitor*, Oct. 9, 1824.

cept in preparation for the state convention, the delegate and nominating convention system had not yet appeared and there was little development in party organization. The committees of correspondence and the state convention for forming the electoral ticket were the chief contributions to party organization for the year 1824 in Ohio.

In Indiana there was also an organized effort to secure the election of Jackson in 1824. A meeting in Switzerland County in January, adopted the resolutions supporting Clinton and Jackson, passed by the citizens of Jefferson County, Ohio, already mentioned, and appointed a committee of nine to promote their election.[21] But in Indiana, as in Ohio, Clinton's name for the presidency was soon superseded by that of Jackson. During the first half of the year several county meetings were held to promote the candidacy of the latter, but each followed its own course and there was no concerted or general movement. A meeting in Clark County in May nominated a Jackson elector for the second judicial circuit and requested the friends of Jackson in the other four circuits of the state to do the same.[22] The citizens of Orange County held a meeting in July and nominated five Jackson electors for the state.[23]

By the last of July, however, advanced ground was taken by the editor of the Vincennes paper and by the Democrats of Franklin County. The editorial advocated a state convention for the choice of presidential electors.[24] "In Wayne, Dearborn, and Ripley Counties," wrote the editor, "candidates are continually coming forward. * * * A general convention, county committees of correspondence, and township committees of vigilance will secure to us such a ticket as will produce unanimity * * * and render success certain. I therefore seriously call on the friends of Andrew Jackson throughout the state to exert themselves in their respective counties to procure county meetings sometime in the month of August, and at such meetings to appoint delegates in proportion to their county representation in

[21] *National Republican,* March 12, 1824.
[22] *Ibid,* June 11, 1824, quoting *Indiana Farmer.*
[23] *National Republican,* Aug. 10, 1824.
[24] *Western Sun* (Vincennes, Indiana), July 31, 1824.

the legislature, who shall meet in general convention at Salem * * * in September, to nominate an electoral ticket in favor of Andrew Jackson and to make such other arrangements as the good of the cause may require." He also urged that the county meetings appoint county committees of correspondence of five, and township committees of vigilance of three members each. The previous day a meeting in Franklin County on the opposite side of the state, had resolved "that for the purpose of fixing upon a regular electoral ticket, the friends of General Jackson throughout the state are requested to call meetings, appoint committees or correspondence, and also delegates in the different counties to meet in convention at Salem, September 16, for the purpose of agreeing upon an electoral ticket."[25] This meeting appointed a committee of correspondence of three for the county and a delegate to this state convention, and nominated a state electoral ticket which it recommended for adoption. Similar meetings followed in other counties[26], and on September 16, delegates from fourteen of them met in convention at Salem.[27] An electoral ticket was adopted and a state corresponding committee of three members appointed with power to fill vacancies in the ticket. This procedure was similar to that in the Ohio convention two months before. In both cases the electoral ticket was chosen chiefly from nominations previously made by county meetings and the state committees were alike in number and duties. The Indiana convention further requested the friends of Jackson to hold meetings and appoint committees of correspondence in those counties where this had not been done, and it resolved "that five hundred copies of the address to the people of Indiana, adopted by this convention, and three thousand of the electoral tickets be printed for immediate distribution."

The counties represented were well distributed over the southern, the settled portion of the state. Franklin and Dearborn Counties, which had both been very active in advocating the

[25] *National Republican,* Aug. 24, 1824, quoting *Brookville* (Indiana) *Enquirer.*

[26] *Western Sun,* Aug. 21, 28, Sept. 4, nad 11, 1824; *National Republican,* Aug. 27, 1824.

[27] *Western Sun,* Sept. 25, 1824; *National Republican,* Oct. 5, 1824.

state convention and had appointed delegates to it, were not represented. This might easily have been due to the difficulty of travel before the days of railroads. The same reason might explain the fact that the state convention was held at Salem in south central Indiana, instead of at the state capital, Indianapolis, which was then on the northern frontier of the settled portion of the state.

While there was less political organizing activity in Indiana than in Ohio in 1824, this was chiefly because of its smaller population. The main difference in procedure in the beginning seems to have been that in Indiana the county meetings in some cases recommended a complete ticket of electors for the state, while in Ohio these meetings confined their recommendations to the electors for their own congressional districts. By the end of the campaign the two states arrived at practically the same position as to their Democratic party organization and both were in the initial stages. As to the results of the campaign of 1824, Ohio gave Jackson eighteen thousand votes,[28] Adams twelve thousand, and Clay nineteen thousand, so that its sixteen electoral votes were given for Clay; Indiana gave Jackson seven thousand, Adams three thousand, and Clay five thousand, thus giving its five electoral votes for Jackson. In the house of representatives the vote of Indiana was still cast for Jackson, but that of Ohio was turned to Adams.

Development from 1825 to 1828.

In the summer and fall of 1825 there were township and ward meetings in Hamilton County, Ohio, preparatory to a county convention to nominate a ticket for the fall election. A meeting in Sycamore township in August recommended that a delegation of three from each township of the county and each ward of Cincinnati meet in convention on September 10.[29] In pursuance of this recommendation delegates from five townships and one ward assembled and formed a county ticket.[30] They expressed approval of the delegate system as the best method to "prevent

[28] Returns given in round numbers in this and succeeding chapters.
[29] *National Republican*, Aug. 23, 1825.
[30] *Ibid*, Sept. 13, 1825.

the few from imposing on the public by holding secret meetings to get themselves or friends into office." This county convention differed from the county meetings of the previous year in both Ohio and Indiana, in that it was composed of delegates chosen by township and ward meetings, and also in that its purpose was to nominate state and county officers rather than to prepare for a presidential election.

Individual nominations continued to appear in the columns of the press,[31] and a township meeting in Whitewater township, September 3, nominated another set of candidates for state and county offices.[32]

The year 1826 witnessed some further development in political party organization in Ohio. As early as February there appeared the following editorial on the "Delegate System" in the *St. Clairsville Gazette,*[33] which shows the situation in Belmont County at that time: "It is deemed proper to give public information that a large number of the citizens of most, if not all the townships have agreed to adopt the delegate system in nominating candidates for important public places. They have placed their names to an instrument which sets forth the advantages of that mode over the one generally used in this county, of individuals assuming the authority of nominating persons under the influence of private consideration. * * * It is recommended that the citizens of each township elect at the approaching spring elections, two delegates with instructions to meet in St. Clairsville on the first Saturday of September to make nominations for the ensuing general election, appoint a committee of vigilance for the following year, etc."

In pursuance of this recommendation, some townships elected delegates at the spring election,[34] and these met, upon call, May 22, to nominate a ticket for the fall election.[35] As only ten delegates attended, representing five townships, they adjourned and called a second meeting for June 20, at which six townships were

[31] *National Republican,* Sept. 20, 1825.
[32] *Ibid,* Sept. 16, 1825.
[33] *St. Clairsville* (Ohio), *Gazette,* Feb. 25, 1826.
[34] *Ibid,* May 13, 1826.
[35] *Ibid,* June 10, 1826.

represented.[86] The meeting being duly organized and "giving all the weight possible to the instructions of the people by whom they were elected," selected a ticket for state and county officers to be supported at the October election.

Thus far since 1824, there had been no mention of national motives in this local political organization although it had been developing in almost diametrically opposite centres in the state of Ohio. But in a Cincinnati paper of August 1826, there appeared the following:

"Jackson Notice."[87]

"Those members of the late Jackson committee of correspondence for the county of Hamilton who reside in Cincinnati, and those who may be in town from the country, are requested to meet at Colonel Mac Farland's Hotel near the Court House on Thursday evening, the twenty-fourth, at 7 o'clock, on business of importance.

Elijah Hayward,

Cincinnati, August 21, 1826. Late secretary to said committee.

"P. S. The above notice is given at the request of several members of said committee."

No record of this meeting appears but there is an account of a meeting of this committee, on August 31,[88] which called a meeting of those citizens of Hamilton County friendly to the election of Andrew Jackson to the next presidency, for September 12, for the purpose of adopting such measures as would promote that object. A committee of five was appointed to prepare and report to that meeting such resolutions as they might consider proper.

This meeting was held at the appointed time and the resolutions reported were adopted.[89] It appointed a committee of twenty members called the "Jackson Committee of Cincinnati," giving them power "to add to their number, to appoint subcommittees, to correspond with other Jackson committees throughout the Union and to do anything fitting to promote the cause of the

[86] *St. Clairsville Gazette*, July 1, 1826.
[87] *National Republican*, Aug. 22, 1826.
[88] *Ibid*, Sept. 5, 1826.
[89] *Ibid*, Sept. 15, 1826; *Hamilton* (Ohio) *Advertiser*, Sept. 22, 1826

people in choosing their first executive officer. "On September 19, this committee was enlarged to the number of sixty-three, the members residing in Cincinnati and in the surrounding vicinity.[40] Five of them resided in the adjoining county of Clermont. Meetings of this committee were held every few weeks at the Marine Coffee House in Cincinnati. The next one was called for September 27, and at this meeting the committee expressed regret that more than one Jackson candidate should be supported for congress in this district and said that all efforts to unite the friends of Jackson on this subject had been unavailing; and believing that a considerable plurality of votes would be given to James Findlay for that office, and having full confidence in his abilities and his firm friendship for Andrew Jackson, they resolved to recommend the friends of Jackson to unite in support of James Findlay as the Jackson candidate for congress.[41] They also resolved that "to support any other Jacksonian as a congressional candidate for this district is calculated to injure the Jackson cause." A committee of five was appointed to prepare and publish an address containing the principles which induced this committee to support Mr. Findlay.

Warren County showed some political activity in support of Jackson in 1826. At a meeting of the citizens of Lebanon and vicinity, favorable to Jackson on September 16, a "Warren Jackson Committee" of ten was appointed, whose duty it was "to correspond with other committees or individuals on the subject of the presidential election, to draft and cause to be published an address to the people, and to take any other proper measures for the advancement of the Hero."[42]

In the spring of 1827 the field of political activity again widened in Ohio and there are records of about ten county meetings, in which steps were taken toward organizing the Jackson party by appointing correspondence committees for the counties and, in some cases, vigilance committees for the townships. These meetings were called together by notices in the local papers, often published at the request of some of the citizens, and some-

[40] *National Republican,* Sept. 22, 1826.
[41] *Ibid,* Sept. 29, 1826.
[42] *Ibid,* Sept. 29, 1826.

times supplemented by circulars. It is fair to suppose that several of this series of meetings were stimulated by a circular issued March 29, by a select committee appointed by the Jackson committee of correspondence for Hamilton County.[43] This circular read as follows:[44]

"At a meeting of the Jackson Committee of Correspondence for the county of Hamilton on the twenty-first instant, the undersigned were appointed a select committee to open and continue a correspondence with similar committees and with friends of General Jackson in this and other states of the Union with a view to promote the elevation of that illustrious citizen to the next presidency. At the same meeting it was resolved to request the friends of General Jackson in the several counties of this state to hold meetings in their respective counties and organize committees of correspondence to promote the same object. * * * Nothing now appears to be wanting to secure to him the electoral votes of Ohio but a proper organization of his friends in the several counties and * * * active exertions. With this prospect before us * * * we earnestly request you to cause a meeting to be held in your county at an early period for the purpose of appointing a committee of correspondence and adopting such other measures as may promote the cause of the people. * * * Should a meeting be held in your county we would recommend that the proceedings be published in some newspaper in your vicinity, and one copy of the paper containing such proceedings forwarded to the *National Republican* and to the *Cincinnati Advertiser.*"

The supporters of Jackson were quite active in Belmont County at this time, and in pursuance of a call published in the local paper, about one hundred assembled in St. Clairsville, May 2, 1827.[45] After passing resolutions in support of Jackson, fifteen persons were appointed as a county committee of correspondence, and it was resolved that a copy of the proceedings of the meeting be forwarded to the friends of Jackson in Guern-

[43] *National Republican,* March 20, 1827.

[44] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette,* Sept. 24, 1827.

[45] *United States Telegraph* (Washington, D. C.), May 17, 1827; *National Republican,* May 18, 1827.

sey County with a request that they hold a similar meeting. It would seem, however, that this suggestion was not very warmly welcomed by the Jackson men in Guernsey, for at their meeting, which was held in the town of Washington just ten days later, it was resolved, "that as this meeting has been called by the result of a voluntary and deliberate consultation of the citizens of this county, and that public notice was given previous to the meeting in Belmont, it has therefore been held * * * independent of the instructions or solicitations of any man or set of men, and accordingly we will pursue an independent course, having no regard for the instructions of friends further than a mutual correspondence and an exchange of sentiment."[46] This Guernsey County meeting appointed a committee of correspondence of nine members.

In Montgomery County in the spring of 1827 there was some political activity and organization among the Jackson men, although unity and concert throughout the county seemed to be lacking and each meeting seemed to stand alone. Some of the townships led the way and the county followed. A meeting in Jefferson Township, April 11, appointed two members as a committee of correspondence "to cooperate and act in concert with similar committees in this state and throughout the United States."[47] Another meeting was held in German Township, May 4.[48] On May 11, the Jackson men of the county held a meeting at Dayton and prepared an address and appointed seven persons as a committee of correspondence.[49]

During the summer of 1827 there were a few meetings of the Jackson committee of Hamilton County, in Cincinnati, one of which on July 16, called a meeting of the citizens for the following day to discuss the tariff, which was attended by about one thousand persons.[50] In the fall the meetings of the committee became more frequent and there were meetings of the Jackson

[46] *U. S. Telegraph,* June 19, 1827; *National Republican,* June 5, 1827.
[47] *U. S. Telegraph,* May 5, 1827; *National Republican,* May 4, 1827.
[48] *U. S. Telegraph,* May 5, 1827; *National Republican,* May 15, 1827.
[49] *U. S. Telegraph,* May 26, 1827.
[50] *National Republican,* July 17 and 20, 1827.

citizens in the different wards of Cincinnati.[51] Some of the modes of procedure were not as democratic as they might have been, for the Jackson committee of correspondence for Hamilton County appointed delegates to meet and form a ticket of candidates for the fall election. These delegates met and nominated a county ticket on September 1.[52]

At many of the county and township meetings amusing sentiments were expressed reflecting the partisan spirit of the time. In a Wayne County meeting which assembled in March to effect county and township organization, Adams was referred to as "a man whose political life has been too strongly marked by a vacillating policy on all subjects but that of an aristocratic opposition to the Rights of Man."[53] A resolution adopted by a meeting in German township, Montgomery County, in May, read thus: "Although General Jackson has not been educated at foreign courts and reared on sweetmeats from the tables of kings and princes, we think him nevertheless much better qualified to fill the dignified station of president of the United States than Mr. Adams."[54]

An editorial in the *Cincinnati Gazette* of that time on the fall election gives some interesting sidelights on party organization and seems on the whole a fair statement of the case.[55] It says in substance that, notwithstanding the attempts of the Jacksonians to mix up the presidential question with the local elections, this course has been taken in but a few counties. "In Wayne, Columbiana, Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox, Ross, and Belmont the presidential election, or Administration and opposition, forms the line of division. I have observed no other counties in which an avowed Jackson ticket is openly supported." The four counties first named — Wayne, Columbiana, Jefferson, and Hamilton — were active Jacksonian centres. The editorial continues: "I have no doubt that an open Jackson ticket has been made wherever it was thought prudent to make it;" that is, wherever

[51] *National Republican,* Oct. 2, 1827.
[52] *Ibid,* Sept. 4, 1827; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette,* Sept. 13, 1827.
[53] *U. S. Telegraph,* Apr. 14, 1827, quoting *National Republican.*
[54] *U. S. Telegraph,* May 5, 1827; *National Republican,* May 15, 1827.
[55] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette,* Oct. 7, 1827.

success seemed probable. "In most of the counties there is a large number of candidates and many will probably be elected without receiving one-third of the votes actually given. It is easy in such cases for a small minority of Jacksonians, by acting in concert and keeping silent to elect their man."

The election in Hamilton County in the fall of 1827 illustrates this, except that the Jackson men were here in the majority in any case. The Administration party decided not to make a party ticket.[56] Just before the election there were several candidates for the assembly on the Administration side. "It is true", wrote the editor of the *Gazette,* "as is stated in the *National Republican,* that the unanimity which prevails among the friends of General Jackson, secures to the party the utmost fidelity and the strictest integrity. They have been disciplined into unanimity * * * and they deserve to reap the benefit of this concert."[57]

As early as April 20, 1827, the citizens of Jefferson County favorable to the election of Jackson held a meeting which seems to have made the first suggestion of a state convention for 1828 to appoint electors for president and vice-president of the United States.[58] They resolved to "recommend to the friends of General Jackson in this state, in imitation of his early and faithful friends in Pennsylvania, the propriety of making arrangements in due season for a delegate meeting at Columbus on the eighth of January next, to be composed of so many from each county as such county sends senators and representatives to the general assembly." Organization was effected by appointing a corresponding committee of eighteen for the county and a committee not exceeding seven in each township.[59]

Within the two months following, several meetings made provision for sending delegates to the state convention. On May 10, a Jackson meeting in Columbiana County appointed five persons as a committee of vigilance and correspondence for the county and these in turn were required to appoint committees

[56] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette,* Sept. 13, 1827.
[57] *Ibid,* Oct. 17, 1827.
[58] *U. S. Telegraph,* May 10, 1827; *National Republican,* May 11, 1827.
[59] *St. Clairsville Gazette,* Apr. 21, 1827.

of three in each township.[60] All these committees together were to appoint four delegates to represent the county in the state convention. A Jackson meeting was held in Bath township, Green County, May 26, which appointed a corresponding committee of five members.[61] The meeting recommended and concurred in sending delegates from the different counties to the state convention and appointed Thomas Gillespie, Esq., of Xenia in another part of the county as a delegate to this convention. The fact that he had offered himself for this office in 1824 prompted his nomination. A Licking County Jackson meeting was held, June 11, at Newark.[62] A committee of vigilance and correspondence was appointed, consisting of thirty-five members and two delegates were chosen to the state convention.

During the fall preparatory to the state convention there are records of at least thirty county conventions. These were assembled by means of calls issued by Jacksonians in the local papers. In Butler County the convention was called by a preparatory meeting of the friends of Jackson.[63] In a few cases where a county committee existed, as in Belmont[64] and Hamilton,[65] this body called the convention. These county conventions appointed delegates to the state convention and formed county organizations, where such had not been formed, by appointing committees of correspondence for the counties. At the same time committees were often appointed by the county conventions for the townships, or the latter were requested to appoint such themselves. The committees both of county and township varied greatly in number and organization. The county committee was composed of three, five, seven, or more members, appointed without regard to the townships; or again it was composed of one or more members from each township of the county. When the county committee was formed without regard to the townships,

[60] *U. S. Telegraph,* June 16, 1827.
[61] *National Republican,* June 15, 1827.
[62] *U. S. Telegraph,* June 28, 1827, quoting *Newark Advocate; National Republican,* July 6, 1827.
[63] *Hamilton Advertiser,* Oct. 20, 1827.
[64] *St. Clairsville Gazette,* Sept. 29, 1827.
[65] *National Republican,* Oct. 16, 1827.

committees were often appointed in the townships besides, or the townships were requested to appoint such themselves.

In Monroe County the members of the county meeting formed themselves into a society, called the "Monroe Jackson committee of vigilance."[66] In Belmont County the committee which had been appointed on May 2, called a convention on September 22, and this body increased the committee from fifteen to sixty and authorized it to appoint two delegates to the state convention.[67] This committee met November 24, and appointed three delegates to this convention,[68] and a central committee of five from their number as a correspondence committee, which was authorized and required to appoint township committees, whose duty it should be to maintain a regular, friendly intercourse with their fellow citizens, promote the success of Jackson, and communicate with the central committee.

Some of the county meetings appointed very large committees. In Pickaway the committee of vigilance numbered seventy-five.[69] The Franklin County convention appointed committees in each township aggregating one hundred and three members.[70] The Clinton County convention appointed a committee of correspondence of seventy-two members and a committee of vigilance of nearly one hundred, residing in different parts of the county.[71] The Brown County convention recommended the citizens of each township to meet and appoint committees of from three to twenty each.[72]

At the Franklin County convention it was resolved, "that we hold the press to be the best avenue through which calumny and misrepresentation can be refuted and correct information disseminated; that we earnestly recommend to the friends of Andrew Jackson in each and every township of this state to form a club

[66] *St. Clairsville Gazette,* Oct. 6, 1827; *National Republican,* Nov. 13, 1827.

[67] *St. Clairsville Gazette,* Sept. 29, 1827.

[68] *Ibid,* Dec. 1, 1827; *National Republican,* Dec. 14, 1827.

[69] *National Republican,* Nov. 30, 1827.

[70] *U. S. Telegraph,* Dec. 8, 1827.

[71] *National Republican,* Dec. 25, 1827.

[72] *Western Aegis* (Georgetown, O.), Dec. 4, 1827.

and to subscribe to at least three of the leading papers favorable to his election to the presidency, which shall be deposited with one or more persons for the benefit of all the inhabitants of the townships without regard to their political sentiments;" also, "that five hundred copies of the address and resolutions be published and distributed throughout the state under the direction of a committee of five members."[73]

The number of delegates chosen to the state convention varied from one, as in the case of Scioto County,[74] to fifteen, as in Fairfield.[75] In several counties their appointment was left to a committee with discretionary power as to the number. In Ross County the township committees, together with the citizens of the townships, were to appoint as many delegates as they should deem advisable.[76] The delegates were regularly appointed directly by the county convention but in Monroe County a delegate was appointed by the committee of correspondence, as directed by the county convention.[77] The same method was followed in Belmont.[78] In Scioto County the joint committees of correspondence for the county and of vigilance for the townships were authorized to appoint one delegate,[79] and in Columbiana County the four delegates were appointed by a joint meeting of all the committees of the county and townships, together with the citizens of the county.[80]

The convention of delegates from the counties of Ohio, who were friendly to the election of Jackson, assembled at the court house at Columbus, January 8,[81] 1828. One hundred and sixty delegates attended,[82] representing fifty-four counties.[83] After

[73] *U. S. Telegraph,* Dec. 8, 1827.
[74] *Western Times* (Portsmouth, O.), Nov. 15, 1827.
[75] *National Republican,* Dec. 11, 1827.
[76] *Ibid,* Nov. 13, 1827.
[77] *St. Clairsville Gazette,* Oct. 6, Nov. 17, and Dec. 15, 1827.
[78] *Ibid,* Sept. 29, Nov. 3, and Dec. 1, 1827.
[79] *Western Times,* Nov. 15, 1827.
[80] *National Republican,* Dec. 21, 1827.
[81] January 8 was chosen as the date for Democratic conventions in commemoration of Jackson's victory at New Orleans, Jan. 8, 1815.
[82] *U. S. Telegraph,* Jan. 19, 1828.
[83] *Ibid,* Feb. 7, 1828.

organizing, a committee of fourteen, consisting of one member from each congressional district, was appointed to consult with delegates from their respective districts, and recommend to the convention the names of sixteen persons for nomination as electors of president and vice-president of the United States at the next election.[84] Another committee of fourteen members was appointed to prepare an address to the people of the state, with suitable resolutions on the subject of the next presidential election and report the same to the convention. Pursuant to adjournment on the eighth, the convention reassembled January 9, and accepted the reports of these committees. The address filled nearly six columns of the newspaper and concluded with a column of a dozen resolutions,[85] one of which was:

"*Resolved,* That a committee of thirty-two be appointed by the chairman of this convention, consisting of two members from each congressional district and four at large, to act as a committee of observation and vigilance throughout the state until the final result of the next presidential election is known; and that such committee, or a majority of them, have power to appoint select committees either from among themselves or otherwise; and if considered expedient, to call a future convention like the present; and that they be required to present to the people, such information on the subject of the next presidential election as to them shall seem advisable; and that said committee have power to fill any vacancy that may occur in the electoral ticket or in their own body."

This committee was appointed. It was further resolved that one thousand copies of the proceedings, address, and resolutions of the convention be published, and that two thousand copies thereof be published in German. A committee of three was appointed on publication.

Following the adjournment of this convention, January 9, another convention was held at Columbus to nominate a governor.[86] This convention consisted of many of the delegates to the first one, Jackson members of the legislature, and citizens of

[84] *St. Clairsville Gazette,* Jan. 26, 1828.
[85] *Western Star and Lebanon* (Ohio) *Gazette,* Feb. 9, 1828.
[86] *Ibid,* Feb. 2, 1828; *U. S. Telegraph,* Jan. 24, 1828.

Columbus friendly to Jackson.[87] There were one hundred and two present from fifty-two counties.[88] One of the secretaries of the convention just held, Thomas R. Ross, was made chairman of the second convention,[89] and J. W. Campbell was nominated for governor. It would seem that this procedure was due to the fact that the delegates to the regular convention had not been instructed to nominate a governor, as may be seen from the proceedings of the county meetings, and hence they resorted to this second meeting.

On January 8, 1828, the supporters of Jackson in Indiana also held a state convention at Indianapolis for forming an electoral ticket for the state. As early as January 1, 1827, a Jackson meeting was held at Vevay, Switzerland County, which appointed a committee of correspondence for the county, provided that this committee should appoint a committee of vigilance in each township and requested the friends of Jackson in the several counties of the state to adopt similar measures.[90] But it was not until November following that steps were taken toward the state convention. On November 10, at a Clarke County Jackson meeting it was resolved "that this meeting consider it essential that a convention of the friends of General Jackson assemble at Indianapolis, January 8 next, for the purpose of nominating a Jacksonian electoral ticket and for other purposes; and that it is recommended that meetings be held in every county in this state as soon as possible and that delegates be appointed to act in concert, whereby a perfect understanding may exist and the whole force of the friends of the People's Favorite stand united and invincible." Whereupon two delegates to the convention and also a committee of correspondence for the county were chosen.[91] Following this meeting notices were published in different papers, calling for meetings to be held at the county seats on December 15, for the purpose of appointing committees of correspondence

[87] *U. S. Telegraph,* Jan. 24, 1828.
[88] *Lebanon Gazette,* Feb. 2, 1828.
[89] *Ibid,* Feb. 2 and 9, 1828.
[90] *National Republican,* Jan. 19, 1827.
[91] *Indiana Palladium* (Lawrenceburgh), Nov. 24, 1827.

and delegates to the state convention.[92] In Dearborn County a preliminary meeting was held on December 3, which called a second meeting for the fifteenth[93] at which a committee of correspondence of thirty-nine members was appointed for the county and six delegates were appointed to attend the state convention.[94] Similar meetings were held in various other counties such as Orange, Switzerland, Knox, Rush, Hancock, Henry, and Marion.[95]

The state convention assembled on January 8, and held sessions on the eighth, ninth, and tenth.[96] Thirty-seven delegates were present from twenty counties.[97] It was "resolved that those members of the legislature who have not been delegated to this convention but who are friendly to the election of Jackson, be admitted as members of this convention." Whereupon ten members were added, making forty-seven from twenty-five counties. A committee composed of two from each of the five judicial circuits of the state was appointed which prepared an electoral ticket of five members.[98] An address to the people of Indiana was prepared by a committee of five.[99] A committee of two delegates from each judicial district was appointed to advance the election of Jackson and to report to the convention the names of proper persons to constitute a central committee of correspondence and such other committees as might be deemed necessary throughout the state.[100] In accordance with their report a "committee of general superintendence" was appointed consisting of fifteen members, any five of whom had authority to act, whose duty it was to fill any vacancy which might occur

[92] *Indiana Palladium,* Nov. 17, 1827; *Indianapolis Gazette,* Nov. 27, 1827.

[93] *Indiana Palladium,* Dec. 8, 1827.

[94] *Ibid,* Dec. 22, 1827.

[95] *Western Sun,* Dec. 8 and 29, 1827; Jan. 12, 1828; *Indianapolis Gazette,* Dec. 25, 1827; Jan. 1, 1828.

[96] *Indianapolis Gazette,* Jan. 9, 1828; *National Republican,* Jan. 25, 1828.

[97] *Indianapolis Gazette,* Jan. 15, 1828.

[98] *Ibid,* Jan. 15, 1828; *U. S. Telegraph,* Jan. 31, 1828.

[99] *Western Sun,* Jan. 26, 1828; *U. S. Telegraph,* Jan. 31, 1828.

[100] *Western Sun,* Jan. 26, 1828.

in the electoral ticket, to insure the circulation of correct intelligence among their friends in every county and to provide the funds necessary to defray such expenses as might be incurred; and to adopt or recommend such measures as to them appeared expedient.[101] The members of this committee were requested to hold their first meeting at Salem on February 22. The friends of Jackson were requested to organize committees of correspondence in their counties and as far as possible, committees of vigilance in their townships and to transmit the names of the members of such committees to the state committee at Salem. The delegations in the state convention were to act in concert with the committees of correspondence in their respective counties.[102] A committee of three was appointed on printing and was instructed to publish the address of the convention; also to contract for five hundred copies and to raise the means for this object.[103]

In both Ohio and Indiana the county meetings left the selection of the presidential electors to the state conventions of 1828 and made no recommendations as in 1824. In both states in 1827 there was some development in township organization and in a few of the stronger Jackson centres the presidential question became influential in local politics.[104]

The Campaign in 1828.

In considering the development of Democratic party organization in Ohio in 1828, two features are conspicuous, the extension and prominence of township meetings and committees and the congressional district convention. Throughout the year there were township meetings which made organization in accordance with the suggestions of county meetings or county committees. In Belmont County township committees had been appointed by the central committee by March, 1828.[105] During the summer and fall of 1828 meetings were held in the different

[101] *U. S. Telegraph,* Jan. 31, 1828; *National Republican,* Jan. 25, 1828.

[102] *Indiana Palladium,* Jan. 26, 1828.

[103] *Ibid,* Jan. 26, 1828; *Western Sun,* Jan. 26, 1828.

[104] *Indiana Palladium,* July 21, 1827; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette,* Oct. 7, 1827.

[105] *St. Clairsville Gazette,* March 15, 1828.

townships and the size of the committees was much increased, several numbering about two hundred, one nearly four hundred,[106] and the committees of eleven townships aggregating one thousand nine hundred and ninety-two. In the Smith township meeting it was resolved that the vigilance committee should include every Jackson man in the township.[107] In two townships of Hamilton County the organization extended to the school districts, each one being represented in the vigilance committees of the townships.[108] The plan of meeting at stated intervals was adopted by the central committee in Hamilton[109] and Franklin[110] Counties. The former met biweekly with the vigilance committees of the townships; the latter held monthly meetings with delegates appointed by the monthly meetings of the township committees.

The regular county convention, consisting of delegates appointed by township meetings, occurred in several instances during the year 1828. As already observed, Hamilton County had introduced this method in 1825[111] and Belmont had adopted it in 1826,[112] but as yet the plan did not generally prevail. One of these conventions was held in Warren County, August 16, all the townships being represented by seventy-four delegates.[113] Another was held in Hamilton County, August 23, attended by seventy-six delegates from the different wards and townships of the county.[114] Harrison[115] and Jefferson[116] Counties held similar conventions. These conventions and several county meetings[117] held during this summer formed county tickets.

[106] *St. Clairsville Gazette,* Aug. 2 and 30, Sept. 13 and 27, Oct. 4 and 11, 1828.

[107] *Ibid,* Aug 30, 1828.

[108] *National Republican,* June 27, Aug. 3, 1828.

[109] *Ibid,* May 20, 1828.

[110] *Ohio Monitor,* May 24, June 28, and Aug. 6, 1828.

[111] See p. 13.

[112] See p. 14.

[113] *Lebanon Gazette,* Aug. 23, 1828.

[114] *National Republican,* Aug. 26, 1828.

[115] *St. Clairsville Gazette,* June 28, 1828.

[116] *U. S. Telegraph,* July 2, 1828.

[117] *National Republican,* Aug. 8 and 12, 1828; *Western Times,* Sept. 20, 1828.

There are records of congressional district conventions in most of the fourteen districts of Ohio in 1828.[118] In some of the districts, as in the first,[119] second,[120] and ninth,[121] the delegates were appointed by townships directly, at the suggestion of the county committees or county conventions. In other districts, as the third,[122] eighth,[123] and tenth,[124] delegates were chosen by county meetings or committees which were not based on township meetings. In at least two counties of the eleventh district, Harrison[125] and Jefferson,[126] the perfected system toward which all were tending was adopted, by which the delegates were sent by regular county conventions composed of regularly appointed delegates from township meetings. These congressional district conventions varied greatly in size and representation. In the ninth district the convention was attended by eighty-four delegates,[127] in the second by seventy-eight,[128] while in the third there were seventeen[129] and in the tenth only eleven.[130] Yet in the third district, six of the seven organized counties, and in the tenth district, three of the four counties, were represented. In the conventions most largely attended the delegations came directly from townships. In at least one of these conventions, that of the third district, there was appointed a Jackson corresponding committee of six members for the district.

The Democratic young men of St. Clairsville and vicinity in Belmont County met in August, 1828, and called a convention

[118] *National Republican,* July 8, Aug. 5, and Sept. 2, 1828; *Ohio Monitor,* July 9, 1828; *St. Clairsville Gazette,* July 19, 1828; *U. S. Telegraph,* July 18 and Aug. 29, 1828.

[119] *National Republican,* May 27, June 17, 20, and 27, 1828.

[120] *Lebanon Gazette,* Aug. 23, 1828.

[121] *Ohio Monitor,* July 9, 1828.

[122] *National Republican,* Aug. 5, 1828.

[123] *Ohio Monitor,* June 21, July 5, 1828; *U. S. Telegraph,* June 30, 1828.

[124] *St. Clairsville Gazette,* June 28 and July 12, 1828.

[125] *Ibid,* June 28, 1828.

[126] *U. S. Telegraph,* July 2, 1828.

[127] *Ohio Monitor,* July 9, 1828.

[128] *National Republican,* Sept. 2, 1828.

[129] *Ibid,* Aug. 5, 1828.

[130] *St. Clairsville Gazette,* July 19, 1828

of the young men of the county and appointed a committee to prepare an address.[181] This was one of the first of the movements of this kind which afterward became frequent.

Evidence is not wanting that the newspaper played its part in the campaign of 1828 in Ohio.[182] Early in March the central committee of Belmont County called a meeting in St. Clairsville to form a "Jackson Newspaper Club."[183] At the monthly meeting of the Jackson committee of Franklin County with the delegates from the townships, resolutions were passed for extending the means of information by encouraging subscriptions to newspapers and "a gratuitous circulation of them among the destitute."[184] In April the committee of Anderson township, Hamilton County, adopted the following preamble and resolutions:[185]

"*Whereas,* This meeting has been informed that in many parts of the state, especially in the northern parts and in the Western Reserve, the people are destitute of Jackson newspapers, and are weekly inundated with the filthy stuff that issues from the Ebony gazettes, in consequence of which they have no certain authority by which to contradict the base calumnies that daily issue from those venal presses,

"*Resolved,* That all those friendly to the cause who take Jackson papers, after perusal, be requested either to send them to this committee or enclose them to persons who they are confident will act faithfully, with the request to give them as wide a circulation as comes within the scope of their power and convenience.

[181] *St. Clairsville Gazette,* Aug. 30, 1828.

[182] The following from an editorial in the *National Republican,* quoted in the *United States Telegraph,* Aug. 29, 1828, gives some idea of the personalities indulged in by the press at that time: "We learn with mingled feelings of disgust and indignation that Henry Clay, the celebrated traveling preacher and political missionary of J. Q. Adams, is expected in this city tomorrow on his grand electioneering tour through Ohio. * * * It was earnestly desired by the real friends of our political institutions * * * that this last insult to the state might be avoided."

[183] *St. Clairsville Gazette,* Mar. 8, 1828.

[184] *Ohio Monitor,* Aug. 6, 1828.

[185] *National Republican,* May 2, 1828.

"*Resolved,* That the several committees in the state, if they have not already adopted the above plan, be requested to take the hint from this."

That this anxiety for the Western Reserve was not without cause is shown by the fact that while there were eight administration papers in that locality, no Jackson paper was published there until midsummer, when David B. McLain launched one in Cleveland.[186] Early in July, 1828, there were said to be twenty-three Jackson newspapers in Ohio, while at the last election it was said that there had been but five out of fifty for him in the state.[187]

Occasional references are found to financing the campaign. At a meeting of the Jackson general committee for Hamilton County in May, it was resolved "that the several ward and township committees in this county be requested to appoint a fund committee in their respective wards and townships, for the purpose of receiving such contributions as may be given to promote the election of General Jackson, and that the same be paid over to the treasurer of the general committee of the county."[188] In Richland township, Belmont County, a Jackson meeting in September resolved, "that Mr. Marshall be appointed to receive the funds collected to pay for tickets and other incidental expenses connected with the presidential election, and to pay them out to the order of the Jackson central committee for Belmont County."[189] It was further "resolved that a committee of four be appointed to receive contributions from citizens of Richland township, to be deposited with the treasurer appointed by the foregoing resolution for the purpose therein specified."

Some insight into the machinery of elections is occasionally given. At a Franklin County Jackson meeting those in attend-

[186] *Ohio Monitor,* July 30, 1828.

[187] *U. S. Telegraph,* July 21, 1828. James Heaton, commenting on the Democratic wave which was then sweeping over Ohio, wrote to Governor Allen Trimble: "The all devouring spirit of Jacksonism seems to have seized on all the faculties of the multitude." See *Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly* (Columbus, Ohio), XI, p. 16, Selections from the Papers of Gov. Allen Trimble.

[188] *National Republican,* May 27, 1828.

[189] *St. Clairsville Gazette,* Sept. 27, 1828.

ance pledged themselves individually to bring forward every friend to the cause and to do all in their power to support the Jackson ticket at the ensuing election for county and state officers.[140] A notice in a Belmont County paper read:[141] "Jackson electoral tickets, printed by order of the central committee, can be had by township committees and others on application at this office. Neighboring counties can be supplied to any extent." At a Franklin County Jackson committee meeting it was resolved "that this committee consider the proposal of Moses Dawson, of Cincinnati, to furnish the Jackson committees throughout the state with tickets at fifty cents per thousand, an offer friendly to the cause of reform; and that this committee procure five thousand Jackson electoral tickets from him for Franklin County."[142] A Jackson meeting in Columbia township, Hamilton County, appointed a committee of ten to attend the polls at election and distribute tickets.[143]

In Indiana in 1828, the township meetings and congressional district conventions which were then so prominent in Ohio, were almost entirely lacking. On the other hand, the influence of the state convention and the activity of the state central committee in Indiana were much more prominent than in Ohio. This committee held several meetings and there are records of a series of county meetings which were due directly to the suggestion of the state convention and which made county and township organization as it had directed. Indeed the organizations in Indiana and Ohio were counterparts to each other, each supplying those elements which the other lacked. In Indiana the party was organized more from the centre—from the state conventions; in Ohio, from the local centres—townships and counties. The perfect system would be the combination of both.

The state central committee held all its meetings at Salem. The first was on February 22, as requested by the convention. The comittee was increased by over a hundred members from all parts of the state and the chairman was authorized to add more

[140] *Ohio Monitor*, Oct. 15, 1828.
[141] *St. Clairsville Gazette*, Oct. 18, 1828.
[142] *Ohio Monitor*, Sept. 10, 1828.
[143] *National Republican*, Oct. 7, 1828.

members at his discretion.[144] At this meeting the committee nominated John C. Calhoun for vice-president. On March 22, the committee held an adjourned meeting, only fourteen members being present from seven counties.[145] Nineteen new members were added. The committee appointed for that purpose reported an address on the presidential election which was adopted and four thousand copies were ordered to be printed and circulated among the different counties of the state.[146] Several more meetings of the committee were held through the spring, summer, and fall and another address was published by it in October.[147]

The records of county and township meetings in Indiana in 1828 are meager, although as stated, a number of counties held meetings which appointed county and township committees in pursuance of the recommendation of the state convention.[148] At successive meetings in Manchester township, Dearborn County, the desire was expressed to exclude the presidential question from state politics.[149] Just preceding the fall election committees were appointed in each township of Dearborn County to see that a sufficient number of tickets was provided at the polls.[150]

In both Ohio and Indiana there are traces of outside influence bearing upon the campaign of 1828. The Ohio central committee of correspondence wrote to the editor of the *United States Telegraph*: "Your circular has been gladly received. Assure yourselves of our faithful coöperation."[151] This suggests that campaign literature from Washington was used in Ohio. Like-

[144] *Western Sun*, Mar. 15, 1828.

[145] *Indiana Palladium*, May 3, 1828.

[146] This address was published in the local papers of the time, such as the *Western Sun*, Apr. 26 and the *Indiana Palladium*, May 10, and although it filled a page in these papers it contained only the usual campaign material.

[147] *Western Sun*, April 26, July 19, Oct. 4, 1828; *Indiana Palladium*, Nov. 1, 1828.

[148] *Indiana Palladium*, Mar. 15, May 3, June 28, Oct. 25, 1828; *Western Sun*, May 31, 1828; *National Republican*, Apr. 4, May 6, July 18, 1828; *Indianapolis Gazette*, Oct. 16, 1828; *U. S. Telegraph*, July 25, 1828, quoting Cincinnati *Republican*.

[149] *Indiana Palladium*, Mar. 15, May 3, 1828.

[150] *Ibid*, Oct. 25, 1828.

[151] *U. S. Telegraph* Extra, No. 28, Aug., 1828.

wise there is evidence that Indiana was well supplied with free Jacksonian literature from other quarters.[153]

The election gave a majority for Jackson in both states. In Ohio the returns were sixty-seven thousand against sixty-three thousand;[153] in Indiana they were twenty-two thousand against seventeen thousand.[154] In the congressional election in Ohio in 1826 only four of the fourteen districts of the state had elected Jackson men. In 1828 Jackson congressmen were elected in eight districts.[155] These districts formed the east-central and southwestern parts of the state and in all but one, if not in all of these, Jacksonian nominating conventions had been held. In Indiana only one of the three congressmen elected was a Jackson man.[156] This was in the first or western district of the state in which the congressional elections were always closely contested. The Adams candidates together received a majority of five thousand five hundred.[157] In the local elections both states supported administration governors[158] and legislatures.[159] In other words these state elections were not conducted on strictly national party lines. The legislature of Ohio elected an Administration candidate to the United States Senate, though the majority was small.[160]

[153] *Lebanon Gazette,* June 7, 1828, quoting *Indiana Palladium.*

[153] *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus, Ohio), Nov. 20, 1828.

[154] *Indiana Palladium,* Dec. 6, 1828.

[155] *Ohio State Journal,* Oct. 23, 1828; *Niles' Register* (Baltimore, Md.), XXXV, p. 148.

[156] *Niles' Register,* XXXV, p. 45.

[157] *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.), Oct. 23, 1828.

[158] The regular Jackson candidate for governor of Indiana in 1828, I. T. Canby, was opposed by James B. Ray, who had been an Administration man but now claimed to be neutral and was elected. See *Lebanon Gazette,* July 26, 1828; also *Niles' Register,* Nov. 1, 1828, quoting *Indianapolis Gazette.* Ray later became an avowed supporter of Jackson. See *Globe* (daily) (Washington, D. C.), Dec. 24, 1831, quoting *Indiana Palladium,* Dec. 10, 1831.

[159] *Ohio Monitor,* Dec. 24, 1828; *U. S. Telegraph,* Sept. 10, 1830.

[160] *American Annual Register* (New York), III, Domestic Occurrences, p. 157.

CHAPTER II.

SOLIDIFYING THE ORGANIZATION (OHIO AND INDIANA).

The Period from 1829 to 1832.

After the campaign of 1828 political party activity naturally subsided and until preparations were resumed for another presidential election the Jacksonian Democracy was comparatively quiet in the Northwest. The organization attained in 1828 was not brought into active use generally and became somewhat dormant. Certain active centers endeavored to maintain their organizations, but in general there was little in this interval to claim attention.

Just after the presidential election, editorial cautions to Jacksonians appeared in some papers urging them to remain well organized.[1] In pursuance to a call by the Democratic central committee of Belmont County, Ohio, a large meeting was convened in St. Clairsville in March, 1829.[2] R. H. Miller addressed the meeting in behalf of the central committee, urged the necessity of unity of action, recommended a reorganization and tendered the resignation of the committee. It was resolved "that the organization of the Democratic party, which has proved so beneficial for the last two years, be continued." Whereupon a new central committee of five was appointed for the ensuing year, which in turn appointed township committees of two throughout the county.

While the United States Circuit Court was in session in Columbus, a Jackson meeting was held there in July, 1829, which prepared an address recommending conventions of delegates in the respective counties to be held as early as possible, as the best mode of uniting the party at the approaching October elections.[3]

[1] *Ohio Monitor,* Nov. 28, 1828, quoting the *People's Press.*

[2] *St. Clairsville Gazette,* Mar. 14, and May 16, 1829.

[3] *U. S .Telegraph,* July 31, 1829, quoting *Ohio Monitor; Ohio State Buletin* (Columbus), July 29, 1829; *Western Times,* Aug. 8, 1829.

About the same time the Jackson executive committee of Cincinnati issued a circular to the Jackson party in the State of Ohio, urging it to form a legislative ticket for the October election.[4] "Every county," said the *State Bulletin*, "is expected to make a regular convention nomination," and this was done in many counties.[5]

During the spring and summer of 1830 more activity was shown in Ohio, because of the congressional and gubernatorial elections. In February a Democratic meeting was held at Columbus which recommended the electors throughout the state to meet at their respective county seats and choose as many delegates as they were entitled to members in the most numerous branch of the legislature, to attend a state convention to be held in Columbus, July 12, to nominate a suitable candidate for governor.[6] Only thirty-four counties or about half of those then in the state responded to this call by holding meetings and sending thirty-eight delegates to the convention.[7] Among the resolutions drafted by the convention was one to the effect that they heartily joined their "brethren" of Pennsylvania and New York in the hope that Jackson would again yield himself as a candidate for the presidency. A central committee of correspondence was appointed consisting of seven members, which published an address to the people of the state.[8] During August and September a series of county meetings was held for the purpose of forming tickets for the fall elections. Some counties were quite active and showed good organization, such as Belmont, Fairfield, Franklin, Delaware, Muskingum, and Hamilton. In such counties candidates were nominated by regular conventions composed of delegates from the townships, and there were county and township committees. The Muskingum County convention appointed between three and four hundred upon the committee of vigilance for the

[4] *Ohio State Bulletin*, Aug. 19, 1829; *U. S. Telegraph*, Aug. 7, 1829, quoting *National Republican*.

[5] *Ohio State Bulletin*, Aug. 12 and 26, 1829.

[6] *Western Times*, March 4, 1830, quoting *Ohio State Bulletin*, Feb. 24; Ohio elected a governor every two years.

[7] *Ohio Monitor*, July 14, 1830.

[8] *Ohio State Bulletin*, Sept. 22, 1830.

county.[9] In Franklin County the committee of vigilance prepared and published an address to the electors of the county and distributed one hundred copies of it in each township.[10] While this committee approved the nominations which had been made by the party for governor and for congressman in that district, concerning the state legislature the committee expressed themselves thus: "We cannot say anything in allusion to a candidate for representative in the state legislature. The views and intentions of the Republican party are not yet fully settled on this subject and we have no individual in particular to whom we can direct attention at this time. At a future period the preferences of the party may be more particularly defined." This indicates that in local matters in Franklin County, party lines were not then clearly drawn. But in Hamilton County, a full Jackson ticket for state and county offices was prepared by a convention composed of duly appointed delegates from most of the townships of the county and wards of Cincinnati, and it was resolved that "no person will be considered a candidate for any office by this convention who will not pledge himself either in writing or by his friends present to abide the result, and to agree to support the entire ticket nominated by the majority."[11] It was further resolved that all the delegates attending the convention should act as committees of vigilance at the ensuing election in their respective townships and wards.

The congressional district convention was much less in evidence than in 1828. Perhaps the most interesting was that of the eighth district which was first appointed for Sunbury, Delaware County, June 8;[12] then for Newark, Licking County, August 7;[13] and finally an adjourned meeting was held at Mt. Vernon, Knox County, August 21.[14] This shifting seems to have been due to lack of attendance until finally all the counties of the district were

[9] *Ohio State Bulletin,* Aug. 25, 1830.

[10] *Ibid,* Sept. 22, 1830.

[11] *National Republican,* Sept. 3, 1830.

[12] *Ohio State Bulletin,* Apr. 21, 1830; *Ohio Monitor,* June 2 and 9, 1830.

[13] *Ohio Monitor,* July 14 and 21, 1830.

[14] *Ohio State Bulletin,* Aug. 25, 1830; *U. S. Telegraph,* Sept. 3, 1830.

represented at Mt. Vernon. The mode of procedure in calling the district convention was for a county meeting to take the initiative and propose it, suggesting a time and place and the other counties of the district would then hold meetings and fall in line by appointing delegates. In Fairfield County two delegates were appointed from each township to attend the convention of the ninth congressional district,[15] but in the eighth district the counties had sent from three to four delegates each to the convention. The Delaware County meeting had suggested three from each county,[16] while the Coshocton County meeting favored twice the number to which each county was entitled representatives in the state legislature.[17] At this convention a committee of three was appointed to draft an address to the electors of the district and a corresponding committee consisting of three in each county was appointed for the district.[18] The chief work of the convention was, of course, to nominate a candidate for congress.

As the result of the state election of 1830 in Ohio, while the Jackson party claimed a very small majority in the state legislature,[19] it lost two representatives in congress, the second and eighth districts having elected opposition men, so that instead of the districts being eight to six for Jackson, as in 1828, they were now eight to six against him.[20]

The year 1831 was a quiet one in Ohio politics. In January, as is well known, fifty-two members of the legislature addressed a letter to Jackson, soliciting him to be a candidate again for the presidency. But this is a part of the national story of the preparation for the second term. A number of county conventions were held during the summer and fall which formed county tickets. In Fairfield County the preliminary meeting for calling a convention resolved "that a committee of fourteen persons be appointed to consist of one from each township, whose duty it shall be to put up four notices at the most public places

[15] *Ohio Monitor,* June 9, 1830.
[16] *Ohio State Bulletin,* Apr. 21, 1830.
[17] *Ohio Monitor,* July 14, 1830.
[18] *Ohio State Bulletin,* Aug. 25, 1830; *U. S. Telegraph,* Sept. 3, 1830.
[19] *Ohio State Bulletin,* Nov. 24, 1830.
[20] *Ohio State Gazette* (Delaware), Nov. 4, 1830.

in their townships, informing the electors when and where the township meetings are to be held", for the purpose of electing delegates to the county convention.[21] It was also resolved that, "no elector intending to offer himself as a candidate before the people shall be entitled to a seat as a member in the convention."

The chief political interest of the year was the preparation through county meetings for the state convention which was to be held, January 8, 1832,[22] for the purpose of nominating a governor, choosing presidential electors, and also delegates to the first national nominating convention of the party which was to meet at Baltimore the following May. This state convention was attended by two hundred and forty-nine delegates[23] from fifty-four counties[24] and held its sessions on January 9 and 10. It was resolved "that when this convention proceeds to nominate a candidate for governor, any member of the convention shall have the privilege of rising in his place and naming any individual." The selection was by ballot, a majority of the whole number being necessary to a choice. Each congressional district through its delegates, chose two delegates to the Baltimore convention and one presidential elector. A committee composed of one member from each congressional district of the state, chosen by the respective delegations, selected four additional delegates at large to the Baltimore convention, two senatorial electors and five contingent electors. There were thus selected thirty-two delegates to the national convention, sixteen presidential electors and five contingent electors. The convention appointed a central corresponding committee of seven for the state; a central corresponding committee of eight for each of the fourteen congressional districts;[25] and central committees for the counties.[26] A spirited address and set of resolutions were adopted and ten thousand copies of the proceedings were ordered to be published.

[21] *Globe,* Aug. 29, 1831, quoting *Ohio Eagle.*

[22] This date fell on Sunday, so the convention met on the ninth.

[23] *Globe,* Jan. 19, 1832, quoting *Ohio Monitor.*

[24] *Columbus* (Ohio) *Sentinel,* Jan. 10 and 17, 1832.

[25] *National Republican,* May 1, 1832; *Columbus Sentinel,* July 19, and Aug. 10, 1832.

[26] *Columbus Sentinel,* Apr. 5, 1832; *Globe,* Aug. 16, 1833, quoting *St. Clairsville Gazette.*

In Indiana even more than in Ohio there was a period of inactivity in political affairs after the campaign of 1828. For two years following this campaign politics slept and both county and state organizations fell into disuse.[27] In the spring of 1830 candidates for state and county offices were announced individually by the editors in their papers.[28] In some papers there appeared a "Candidates' Department" in which the various candidates' names were published under the names of the respective offices to be filled, and these were inserted from week to week until the election.[29] This mode of presenting candidates of course still obtains with this essential difference, that now such candidates are sifted before election by nominating conventions while then it was open for all until the day of election when a choice was made from the many. The Indiana legislature elected in 1830 was safely for Clay as usual and elected a United States Senator of the same persuasion.[30]

In August 1830 there appeared at Indianapolis Volume I, Number I of the *Indiana Democrat,* edited and published by A. F. Morrison who had already been an active Democratic leader and the editor of the *Republican Statesman* in Charlestown, Clark County.[31] He wrote stirring editorials for party organization and for a state convention and sounded a new note by say-

[27] It was at this time of political inactivity that the following remarkable forecast of political events appeared as an editorial in a Whig paper, the *Indianapolis Gazette,* June 11, 1829: "From every account, we are more and more constrained to believe that General Jackson will be a candidate for reelection for president of the United States for the next four years; and we believe it will not be from any eagerness on his part to continue in office; but from the impossibility of his friends uniting on any other individual. The friends of General Jackson who are advocates of domestic industry, and there are many, particularly in the West, will not support Mr. Calhoun, the avowed opponent of the policy; neither will the southern people support an advocate of the tariff. It is therefore highly probable that the contest will be between Mr. Clay and General Jackson; and General Jackson's election will depend on his acts as president."

[28] *Western Sun,* March 20 and 27, 1830.

[29] *Ibid,* Apr. 3, 1830, *et. seq.*

[30] *Niles Register,* XXXIX, pp. 55, 302, 334.

[31] *Indiana Palladium,* Nov. 24, 1827; Nov. 21, 1829.

ing: "Let it be distinctly known that it is only the intention to elect to the legislature such persons as will render a candid, honest and fair support to the general administration. No man should have the confidence of Jackson men unless he will unequivocally pledge himself thus far."[83] But despite these urgent editorials, Indiana waited a year before calling another regular state convention.

A meeting of the Democratic members of the general assembly of Indiana and others convened at the governor's house in December, 1830.[84] Five thousand copies of the president's message were ordered to be published for distribution throughout the state. A standing central committee of twenty members was appointed for the state with intsructions to publish an address to the people of Indiana. This committee met a few days later and organized, choosing A. F. Morrison as secretary "for the term of its necessary existence." A subcommittee was appointed to prepare and publish the address which appeared the following May in pamphlet form.[84] It was resolved "that this committee will endeavor to designate a committee of five persons in every county in the state, as a county corresponding committee, and that said committees be requested to organize committees of vigilance in the several townships of their counties, and all such committees are invited to correspond freely with the central committee through their chairman and secretary at Indianapolis."

Notwithstanding this excellent plan there is little evidence of activity during the ensuing few months. Dearborn County seems to have been the most active and best organized in the state in 1831. A county meeting was held in March preparatory to a county convention in April. At the preparatory meeting it was resolved to "unite in the support of suitable and well qualified persons, friendly to the republican principles of the present administration, for United States, state and county officers at the approaching election."[85] The convention was attended by delegates from the townships and nominated a ticket for the August

[83] *Indiana Democrat* (Indianapolis), Oct. 2, 1830.
[84] *Western Sun*, Jan. 22, 1831; *U. S. Telegraph*, Jan. 19, 1831.
[84] *Western Sun*, May 21, 1831; *Indiana Democrat*, May 7 and 14, 1831.
[85] *Indiana Palladium*, April 2, 1831; *Western Sun*, April 16, 1831.

election.[36] The congressional election for the twenty-second congress and the state election were held in Indiana in August, 1831, and resulted in the election of a Jackson congressman in each of the three districts of the state, while as before, the opposition elected the governor and state legislature.[37] Thus while attempts were then being made to connect local and national politics, they still remained quite distinct in Indiana.

Since January, 1828, no Democratic state convention had been held in Indiana.[38] In September, 1831, the editor of the *Indiana Democrat* heralded one in his columns.[39] "From various sources," he wrote, "we are authorized to say that a state convention will be held at Indianapolis on the second Monday of December next, to nominate electors for president and vice-president." It was recommended to the voters of the several counties to hold public meetings and elect one delegate from each township to the convention. In preparation, county meetings were held and delegates were appointed from most of the counties of the state.[40] In Dearborn County the meeting was composed of delegates appointed by township meetings,[41] but in most of the counties there were no preliminary township meetings and the county meetings were merely gatherings of the friends of Jackson assembled "in pursuance of previous notice." The number of delegates appointed by the counties varied from one as in the case of Posey[42] to forty in the case of Dearborn.[43] The Jefferson County meeting resolved that it was inexpedient to send more than the number of representatives to which the county was entitled in the state legislature and recommended the counties throughout the state to adopt this number.[44]

[36] *Indiana Palladium,* April 30, 1831.

[37] *Globe,* Aug. 15 and 30, Sept. 1, 1831; Indiana elected a governor every three years.

[38] *Indiana Democrat,* Sept. 17, 1831.

[39] *Western Sun,* Sept. 17, 1831, quoting *Indiana Democrat.*

[40] *Indiana Palladium,* Oct. 22 and 29, Nov. 5 and 12, Dec. 10, 1831; *Indiana Democrat,* Oct. 15, Nov. 5 and 26, and Dec. 6, 1831; *Western Sun,* Nov. 12 and 26, and Dec. 3, 1831; *Globe,* Dec. 2 and 5, 1831.

[41] *Indiana Palladium,* Nov. 19, 1831.

[42] *Western Sun,* Dec. 3, 1831.

[43] *Indiana Palladium,* Nov. 19, 1831.

[44] *Ibid,* Oct. 15, 1831.

The delegates assembled December 12, and organized by appointing a president, two vice-presidents, and two secretaries.[45] Forty counties were represented by one hundred and twenty-one delegates. It was resolved that the friends of the administration then at Indianapolis who had not been appointed as delegates, including A. F. Morrison, editor of the *Indiana Democrat,* be invited to take seats and participate in the proceedings of the convention. As a result of this resolution, twenty-one members were added making a total of one hundred and forty-two from forty-four counties. Five delegates were appointed to attend the national convention at Baltimore in May to nominate a vice-president to be run on the ticket with Jackson; also five electors for president and vice-president were chosen and four contingent electors. It was resolved "that the delegates present be requested to use their best exertions to create committees of vigilance and correspondence in their several counties for the purpose of corresponding with the state central committee at Indianapolis." A committee of two was appointed to receive contributions to defray the expenses of this convention. A state central committee of twenty-four was also appointed. An address and resolutions were prepared and seven thousand copies were ordered to be printed and distributed throughout the state.

The Campaign in 1832.

After the state convention in January, the year 1832 brought no very conspicuous advancement in party organization in Ohio. County and township organizations through the appointment of committees were effected in many counties. The regular county convention, attended by delegates duly appointed by the townships, for forming tickets and appointing delegates to district conventions, became more common throughout the state although it was not invariably adopted. The district convention had become the usual mode of nominating congressmen, but the Logan County meeting merely appointed a committee of five to correspond with the committees of the other counties of the congres-

[45] For account of convention see *Western Sun,* Jan. 7, 1831; *Globe,* Dec. 26, 1831, quoting *Indiana Democrat.*

sional district to nominate a suitable candidate for congress.[46] The county nominating conventions, too, were sometimes mixed and irregular. A Shelby County meeting appointed a vigilance and corresponding committee of two in each township, who with as many friends as might see fit to attend, were requested to meet to consider forming a ticket to be supported at the annual election in October.[47]

The "Hickory Clubs" which had been organized in each ward of Cincinnati by the young men of the city in former campaigns were reorganized in the spring of 1832.[48] Some of the leading party papers of Ohio showed their zeal in the campaign by issuing extras during the two or three months preceding the fall election.[49] In one of these papers appeared the names of the "National Democratic Committee in Ohio," three in number, who were appointed by the National convention at Baltimore in May under a resolution, "that a general corresponding committee from each state be appointed by the president of this convention." [50] This committee also constituted three of the seven members of the Ohio central committee,[51] and took the leading part in its work.

There was noticeable activity on the part of committees especially in connection with the fall elections. The corresponding committee of Franklin County appointed seventy-eight men, one in each school district of the county, "to take special charge of bringing Jackson voters within their respective school districts to the polls." [52] In Crosby township, Hamilton County, a committee of two in each school district was appointed to induce people to attend the election and to provide them with tickets.[53] In Cincinnati sixteen persons were appointed in each ward to act as committees of vigilance at the polls and one hundred bills contain-

[46] *Columbus Sentinel,* Aug. 30, 1832.
[47] *Ibid,* Apr. 5, 1832.
[48] *National Republican,* Apr. 20, 1832.
[49] *Columbus Sentinel,* July 12, 1832; *Ibid,* Aug. 23, 1832, quoting *Cincinnati Gazette.*
[50] *Globe,* May 25, 1832.
[51] *Columbus Sentinel,* July 12, *et al.,* 1832.
[52] *Ibid,* Oct. 4, 1832.
[53] *National Republican,* July 18, 1832.

ing the names of the Jackson electors were ordered to be printed and posted in conspicuous places near each ballot box in the county.[54] The state central committee inserted a card in the Democratic press requesting that a corresponding committeeman in each county transmit the earliest information possible concerning the vote for president to some member of this central committee.[55] Another notice in the press called upon every corresponding committeeman to see that township and school district committees were supplied with Jackson tickets, and in case there was no printing office in any county, they were to apply to one of the Democratic printing offices in Columbus.[56] Just after the state election in October the state central committee tendered acknowledgements for the receipt of about one hundred letters from the different counties giving the results of the election.[57] Finally the state committee formally retired from its duties after the November election and in doing so returned acknowledgements to the committees appointed in the several congressional districts of the state "for the prompt and efficient manner" in which they had "communicated intelligence, from time to time, on the subject of the late election." [58]

Although 1832 was the year of the presidential election, it was a very quiet one in Indiana and there was no advancement in party organization. No systematic attempt seems to have been made to unite the Jackson forces for the state election in August,[59] but preparatory to the fall election a circular was issued to the friends of Jackson by the central committee of the state for the purpose of uniting the party.[60]

The election gave Jackson a good majority in both Ohio and Indiana in 1832 as in 1828. In Ohio Jackson received eighty-one thousand two hundred votes and Clay, seventy-six thousand five hundred, making a majority for Jackson of four thousand seven

[54] *National Republican,* Oct. 3, 1832.

[55] *Columbus Sentinel,* Oct. 25, 1832.

[56] *Ohio Monitor,* Oct. 17, 1832; *Columbus Sentinel,* Oct. 18, 1832.

[57] *Columbus Sentinel,* Oct. 18, 1832.

[58] *Ibid,* Nov. 15, 1832.

[59] *Western Sun,* Aug. 25, 1832, quoting *Indiana Democrat,* Aug. 18, 1832.

[60] *Western Sun,* Oct. 20, 1832.

hundred.[61] The vote in Indiana was thirty-one thousand five hundred for Jackson and twenty-five thousand five hundred for Clay, giving Jackson a majority of about six thousand.[62] In the Ohio congressional election, eleven of the nineteen[63] districts of the state elected Jackson men.[64]

Progress from 1833 to 1836.

In 1833 the chief interests of the Democratic party in Ohio centered about the coming state convention and the beginnings of the cleavage in the party caused by the championship of Judge John McLean for president. This faction and disaffection first showed itself in relation to the tenure and authority of the state central committee and later in opposing the state convention. Early in August the state central committee which had retired the preceding November,[65] resumed its functions by issuing an address to the Democratic party in Ohio.[66] It recommended each county corresponding committee "to take immediate measures to ensure concert of action among their political friends for effecting a choice of candidates for state and county officers." The address also favored county conventions as the best method of securing union and success. It was warmly seconded by a similar address issued soon afterward by the corresponding committee of Clermont County in which it stated: "It may be said that the powers of the central committee with those of the corresponding committees, have ceased with the occasion that caused their existence. * * * We think otherwise ourselves."[67] On the other hand, the editor of the *Columbus Sentinel,* while publishing the

[61] *Niles' Register,* Nov. 24, 1832.

[62] *St. Joseph's Beacon and Indiana and Michigan Intelligencer* (South Bend, Ind.), Dec. 15, 1832.

[63] By the congressional apportionment Act of 1832, after the fifth census, the number of representatives from Ohio was increased from fourteen to nineteen and the legislature redistricted the state accordingly.

[64] *Niles' Register,* Oct. 27, 1832. In Indiana the congressional election was held in the odd years.

[65] See p. 45.

[66] *Globe,* Aug. 16, 1833, quoting *St. Clairsville Gazette.* Also published in *Columbus Sentinel,* Aug. 8, 1833.

[67] *Globe,* Aug. 31, 1833.

address and claiming to support its recommendations, contended that the state committee had not existed since the act of dissolution by the committee itself in the preceding November, and he questioned the authority of its action.[68] The state convention, he said, did not contemplate the organization of a permanent body and had not the power to do so. Later when considering the reorganization of the party, the *Ohio Monitor* said:[69] "A state convention ought also to be held for an organization of the Democratic party. The action of the last state convention has mostly ceased. Some honestly think it has altogether. The state central committee acted this season more tardily and reservedly from the consideration that very many considered they were *functi officio,* and probably there was a greater laxity with the county committees for the same reason. A fresh organization is important to a concerted action of the party." The *Sentinel* was probably correct in its contention that the intended term of the committee had expired, but this mere technicality fails to explain the editor's real motives. The committee favored Van Buren while the editor of the *Sentinel* did not and later came out openly for McLean.

Meanwhile the question of holding a state convention arose and here again the *Sentinel* was opposed to holding it so early. It wished to give the sentiments for McLean more time to develop.[70] When it is considered that it was three years until the next presidential election, it must be admitted that, apart from partisan motives, the objection of the *Sentinel* was not without reason so far as it related to appointing delegates to a national convention.

By November the movement for a state convention took definite form. An editorial in the *Columbus Monitor* gave it the required stimulus, the substance of which was as follows:[71] "It is now well established that the Democratic party at large have determined on a National convention. * * * This must be constituted by primary conventions and these will differ in differ-

[68] *Columbus Sentinel,* Aug. 15 and 22, 1833.
[69] *Ibid,* Nov. 9, 1833, quoting *Ohio Monitor,* Nov. 6, 1833.
[70] *Columbus Sentinel,* Nov. 2 and 9, Dec. 7 and 17, 1833.
[71] *Globe,* Nov. 5, 1833, quoting editorial in *Ohio Monitor.*

ent states, though probably each congressional district will be specially represented. Ohio, we doubt not, will hold a state convention; and we present for the consideration of the people a plan. We hope to receive an immediate reply from the Democratic papers in this state, whether the people in their vicinity favor a state convention and how much of the following plan they think best suited to that object, viz.:

"That a delegate convention for the State of Ohio be held at Columbus on the eighth of January next;

"That every county send twice the number of delegates that it is entitled to senators and representatives in the general assembly, and that there be a delegate from every county that is not entitled to a full representative;

"That such delegates be appointed by a county meeting * * * consisting of delegates from the townships;

"That the townships send to such county convention a number of delegates equal to their number of jurors."

The editor of the *Lisbon* (Ohio) *Patriot* wrote in similar vein:[72] "The importance of a state convention preparatory to a national convention must be apparent to every friend of Democracy. * * * It is necessary that we should have but one candidate for each office, and the sooner we know who they are to be, the better for the harmony and welfare of the Democratic party. We go for a state and national convention."

The usual county meetings were held and delegates were appointed and on January 8, 1834, the convention assembled. Of the seventy-two counties then in the state, fifty were represented by two hundred twenty-nine delegates.[73] The nomination of Robert Lucas for a second term as governor was unanimous. Seats in the convention were offered to those Democrats present who had not been regularly appointed delegates from county conventions, which added somewhat to the number. The convention approved the plan for a national convention and suggested the second Monday in May, 1835, at Pittsburgh, for the time and

[72] *Globe,* Nov. 29, 1833, quoting *Lisbon* (Ohio) *Patriot.*

[73] Account of convention in *Globe,* Jan. 24, 1834, taken from *Columbus Daily Advertiser; Indiana Democrat,* Jan. 25, 1834, quoting Supplement to Cincinnati *Republican.*

place for holding it. The delegates from each of the nineteen congressional districts were asked to select a delegate to the national convention and to these, two senatorial delegates were added, making the same number for the state as it had representatives and senators in congress. It was resolved "that this convention disapprove of the appointment as delegates to the national nominating convention, of any member of congress or other person holding any office under the government." The delegates to the national convention were instructed to support Van Buren for president, with power to use their own judgment as to the vice-president, "so long as the candidate be of that branch of the Democratic family termed Jeffersonian."[74] A state central committee of nine members was appointed.[75] The delegates from each county were requested to report one person as a member of the congressional district corresponding committee and six persons to compose a corresponding committee for the county. These were appointed and after a three days' session the convention adjourned.

This convention aroused some opposition among the supporters of McLean[76] which was expressed in several county meetings[77] and by the *Sentinel*,[78] but on the whole its influence prevailed with the party. The year 1834 witnessed the recurrence of the congressional and gubernatorial elections in Ohio and the United States Bank was the question at issue. The usual county and district conventions were held. Party organization and methods were being perfected in county, district and state. The usual method of nomination in county conventions was by

[74] *Globe*, Jan. 18, 1834.

[75] *Columbus Sentinel*, Jan. 21, and Feb. 15, 1834.

[76] The reason given by one of the prominent supporters of Judge McLean in Ohio for presenting him as a candidate for the presidency was: "We must have a candidate upon whom the opposition [Whigs] can unite, but in addition to this, we must have one who can take some strength from the Jackson party." See *Western Hemisphere* (Columbus, Ohio), Jan. 27, 1835, taken from *Cleveland Whig*, Jan. 21, 1835. He did draw men from the Jackson party for a time but he was later superseded by Harrison as the Whig candidate and the McLean movement was dropped.

[77] See files of *Columbus Sentinel* for February.

[78] *Ibid*, Jan. 21, and Feb. 15, 1834.

ballot and a majority of the votes was required for a choice. The tickets were sometimes prepared by committees composed of one from each township. The Democrats reelected Lucas for governor by a small majority but elected only nine of the nineteen congressmen and were left in the minority in the state legislature.[79]

One needed reform in organization was for the members of the state central committee to reside in or near Columbus instead of being widely scattered over the state, in order that they might work together more effectively.[80] The editor of the *Western Hemisphere* had urged this before the election and later he renewed his efforts. In December, 1834, he wrote a stirring editorial on party organization.[81] "The first step to be taken," he said, "is to summon and hold a state convention. On this convention will devolve the duty of making an efficient organization. An active state central committee must be reappointed, all of whose members should reside at the seat of government. * * * Many and serious were the disadvantages which resulted from the members of the present committee not residing in town. * * * County and township committees also should be appointed, the former to correspond with and report to the state central committee; the latter to establish and maintain a similar correspondence with the committees of each county." The effects of this editorial were referred to in a later one on the same subject, in which the writer said his suggestion had been "poorly received except in some portions of the state."[82] He still believed that a convention should be held during the coming summer, but nothing further seems to have been done concerning it until June, when the movement was begun for holding the regular biennial convention.

On June 12, 1835, a meeting in Columbus, held pursuant to public notice, recommended the Democratic citizens to assemble in their respective counties and elect delegates to a state convention to be held January 8, 1836, for the purpose of choosing

[79] *Western Hemisphere*, Oct. 22, 1834.
[80] *Ibid*, Sept. 17, 1834.
[81] *Ibid*, Dec. 2, 1834.
[82] *Ibid*, Jan. 27, 1835.

electors for president and vice-president and nominating a candidate for governor.[83] The meeting further recommended the organization of the party in the several counties of the state preparatory to the next annual elections. These recommendations were published in the Democratic papers of the state. A senatorial district convention at Wapakoneta, August 6, in which the six counties of the district were represented, recommended holding a state convention at the usual time, but left it to the counties to appoint their own delegates.[84] The state central committee later took up the matter and recommended holding the convention.[85] During August and September a large number of county meetings were held to nominate candidates for county offices and they usually appointed delegates to the state convention.[86] Almost all of these meetings were regular conventions composed of delegates from the townships. A number of things done in the conventions indicate an improvement in political methods and a solidifying of party organization. The delegates to both county and state conventions were often provided with credentials.[87] A meeting in Wayne County preparatory to a county convention resolved "that no delegate of said convention ought to be nominated as a candidate for any office by said convention."[88] At a preliminary meeting in Fairfield County, a committee reported that "it was of the opinion that it would afford as general satisfaction to proceed at once to a choice of candidates to be recommended at the ensuing election, as to make that choice through the medium of a convention."[89] When this question was put to the meeting, it was disagreed to by a large majority. At the meeting of this county convention, it was resolved, as it had been before in Hamilton County,[90] that no one should be considered a candidate for any office by the convention who would not agree

[83] *Western Hemisphere,* June 17, 1835.
[84] *Ibid,* Aug. 26, 1835.
[85] *Ibid,* Dec. 2, 1835.
[86] See files of *Western Hemisphere* for these months.
[87] *Ibid,* Sept. 16, 1835, Stark County convention; *et al.*
[88] *Ibid,* Sept, 2, 1835.
[89] *Ibid,* Sept. 2, 1835, quoting *Ohio Eagle.*
[90] See p. 37.

to abide by its decision.[91] The method of nominating a county ticket by appointing in the convention a nominating committee composed of one member from each township had become common. The convention system was now often applied for nominating representatives and senators for the state legislature. The counties composing the representative and senatorial districts sent delegates to a district nominating convention. When such district conventions were not held, the county conventions in the district made nominations separately for these offices. Frequently one county convention took the initiative and others of the district seconded its nomination. The fall election of 1835 gave the Democrats a large majority in the state legislature of Ohio which during the previous year had been Whig.[92]

After the election those counties which had not already done so held conventions and appointed delegates to the state convention.[93] The method of appointing these delegates was sometimes noteworthy. Usually the county convention appointed a certain number from each township or directed the delegates from the respective townships to appoint them. The Belmont County convention resolved that their "Democratic brethren assemble in their respective counties and elect a number of delegates to said [state] convention equal to three times the number of senators and representatives which their county sends to the general assembly and that the delegates be furnished with a certificate of the time and manner of their election."[94] Whereupon nine delegates were appointed from that county. In Highland County, a committee of four was appointed to fill vacancies in the delegation,[95] a power usually given directly to the delegates. The Hamilton County convention recommended each township and ward to appoint a delegate.[96] The number appointed in the

[91] *Western Hemisphere,* Sept. 16, 1835, quoting *Ohio Eagle.*

[92] *Ibid,* Oct. 28, 1835.

[93] See files of *Western Hemisphere* for November and December, 1835.

[94] *Ibid,* Sept. 2, 1835.

[95] *Ibid,* Dec. 9, 1835.

[96] *Ibid,* Sept. 9, 1835, quoting *National Republican.*

counties varied greatly. Hardin appointed three, Miami sixty.[97] Ross appointed one for each one thousand population.[98]

The convention organized January 8, 1836, by electing a president, one vice-president from each congressional district, and six secretaries.[99] The whole number in attendance was said to be about eight hundred of which over four hundred were duly appointed delegates. Almost every county was represented.[100] The number of delegates from the different counties varied from one to thirty-eight. It is interesting to compare the number in attendance with the number appointed in some of the counties. Of the sixty appointed by Miami, nine attended. Of the fifty-seven appointed by Muskingum, eighteen attended. Jefferson appointed nine and seven attended; while Fairfield appointed twenty-eight and thirty-eight attended. It was resolved that in nominating a candidate for governor, the number of votes to be

[97] *Western Hemisphere,* Dec. 19, 1835.

[98] *Ibid,* Sept. 2, 1835.

[99] For account of convention see *Western Hemisphere,* Jan. 9 and 13, 1836.

[100] The difficulties encountered by the delegates in attending this convention from remote parts of the state were revealed in connection with the convention of Jan. 8, 1838, in a protest by the editor of the *Warren News Letter* against holding conventions at that time of the year. See *Ohio Statesman* (Columbus), Nov. 7, 1837, quoting editorial in *Warren News Letter.* The writer very sensibly urged some time in May or the fourth of July as a more suitable time. In speaking of attending the convention of 1836 he said: "The roads were literally impassable. The stages on many of the routes were taken off and the members were obliged to tarry at Columbus for weeks or 'go round by the bridge.' The latter alternative many of them chose. We well remember that on that occasion the delegates from Cincinnati were obliged, in order to get to their homes, to go to Wheeling and there take a boat and descend the river. The delegates from Cuyahoga and Lorain were also compelled to return by the National Road via Wheeling, and from that city they went up the river to Beaver, Pa., and from there by stage to Cleveland; and we shall not soon forget the sufferings we endured going and returning on that same occasion. Therefore we object to the time." In favor of a later date he wrote: "It is early enough. The country wants repose, a little respite from the clamor of political strife. In July the roads will be good, travelling pleasant and comfortable and a convention at that time would be fully attended." This wise protest however was unavailing and the next convention was held at the usual time, January 8, 1838.

given should be equal to the number of representatives in the lower house of the state legislature, which votes should be cast *viva voce* by the delegates from each representative district by such person or persons as they might agree upon; a majority of all the votes being necessary to a choice. The delegates from each congressional district were directed to select and report to the convention the name of one elector to represent their district in the electoral college. A committee consisting of one from each congressional district was chosen to select the two senatorial electors. The delegates from each congressional district were also directed to report to the convention the names of one person in each county, as a committee of correspondence for the district, except where the district was composed of but one county, in which case the committee should consist of three members. The needed reform in the state central committee perviously mentioned was effected by appointing five members who resided in and near Columbus and whose duty it was "to correspond with and obtain information from the several Democratic county and district committees in this state in relation to all matters connected with the proceedings and objects of this convention." The central committee was given power to fill all vacancies in its own number and in the electoral ticket formed by this convention, and to call another convention, by giving public notice thereof in the Democratic newspapers and such other notices as they might deem advisable. The president of the convention was directed to appoint a committee to prepare the usual address to the people of Ohio and publish the proceedings of the convention.

The chief political events in Indiana in 1833 were the congressional election,[101] which then came in odd years in that state, and a state convention for the nomination of governor and the appointment of delegates to the next national nominating convention. In Indiana and Ohio, delegates were appointed to the next national convention within a year after the beginning of the presidential term and almost three years before the next election. In this year also in Indiana the congressional district convention first claims attention in some of the districts.

[101] By the congressional apportionment Act of 1832, after the fifth census, the number of representatives from Indiana was increased from three to seven and the legislature redistricted the state accordingly.

The following examples indicate that in the sixth and seventh districts very representative conventions were planned. A meeting in Addison township, Shelby County, in April recommended the Democrats of that congressional district to call meetings in each township and elect delegates to county conventions for the purpose of sending five delegates from each county to a district convention to be held in Indianapolis in May.[102] This township meeting appointed five delegates to the county convention and requested the other townships of the county to do the same. A congressional district convention was held in Lafayette in June, and although five counties containing two-thirds of the population of the district were represented, an adjourned and more representative session was called for July 4.[103]

The movement for the state convention began in August and seems to have been directed by the press rather than by a state committee. An editorial in the *Indiana Democrat* stated that the necessity of calling the convention had been urged by a great number, that the Democrats were unanimously in favor of the measure, and suggested the holding of meetings at an early period to carry the measure into effect.[104] In a later editorial the writer said the public feeling in favor of a convention was so general that he could not hear of any portion of the state where the people were not "up and doing."[105]

After the usual series of preparatory county conventions the state convention assembled, December 9, 1833.[106] It was organized by appointing a president, two vice-presidents and two secretaries and the delegates presented credentials. At first forty-one

[102] *Indiana Democrat,* Apr. 20, 1833.

[103] *Ibid,* June 29, 1833, quoting *Wabash Mercury.* Further accounts of these conventions are wanting. How generally these district conventions were held in Indiana in 1833 does not appear in the contemporary newspaper files which are somewhat less complete than usual for this year, but the election returns indicate that the Jackson men in all but the second district, which they lost, were well united on the one successful candidate. In the second district the Democratic votes were scattered, indicating that no convention had been held.

[104] *Indiana Democrat,* Aug. 31, 1833.

[105] *Globe,* Nov. 20, 1833, quoting *Indiana Democrat.*

[106] For account of convention see *Indiana Democrat,* Dec. 11, 1833.

counties were represented by one hundred forty-eight delegates. The ratio of the number of delegates attending to the number appointed by the different counties varied as usual. The three appointed by Hancock all attended and while Madison appointed but two, its representation was five. On the other hand, of the eight delegates appointed by Dearborn, but one attended and Pike which had appointed four, was unrepresented. It was resolved that the Democratic senators and representatives of the legislature of Indiana, be admitted to take part in all the deliberations of the convention. The Democratic citizens who were present from unrepresented counties of the state were also invited to become members of the convention. Whereupon fifteen names were added representing eight more counties. The method adopted for nominating a governor was suggested by a committee representing all the congressional districts of the state and was similar to that which was later adopted in the Ohio convention of 1836 already mentioned.[107] In both cases the number of votes was to be the same as the number of representatives in the state legislature. The rules of the house of representatives of the state were adopted in substance as the rules of the convention. It was generously resolved that the convention would waive any nomination or recommendation at that time for the presidency or vice-presidency and that its members would cheerfully support the leaders of the party. The delegates of each congressional district were directed to confer together and report to the convention three persons from that district to attend the next Democratic national convention. The Democratic senators and representatives of Indiana in congress were also asked to attend. The delegates to the national convention were requested, in case of any change of events rendering it necessary, to call primary meetings for the appointment of delegates to conventions in each congressional district to instruct said national delegates; and if in such case, these delegates failed to call for instructions, the convention advised that the people hold meetings and appoint delegates for such purpose. The delegates were empowered to fill vacancies in their number from the districts in which the

[107] See pp. 53 and 54.

vacancies should occur. A central corresponding committee of twenty-one members, three from each congressional district, was appointed whose duty it was to determine the time and place of holding the next state convention and also to act as a committee of vigilance in promoting the election of the candidates nominated by this convention. All the Democratic journals of the state were requested to publish the proceedings of the convention. In the same issue of the *Indiana Democrat* in which the account of the convention appeared, the editor wrote: "We shall hear no more, we presume, of the opposition to conventions in Indiana, and particularly from those who profess to be our friends. * * * We consider the system now established upon so firm a basis, that our opponents can no longer indulge the vain hope of overturning it."

Although the regular congressional elections occurred in Indiana in 1835, political party activity was at a low ebb. The existing files of contemporary newspapers have little to say concerning the congressional campaign, yet the Democratic candidates succeeded in every district.[108] An interesting meeting of "members of all political parties" was held in Franklin County in February "for the purpose of devising some scheme to allay party excitement."[109] It was resolved "that this object could best be obtained by the selection of a candidate for the presidency in whom the people of all parties could confide." A resolution nominating Harrison for president was first offered. It was then proposed to substitute the nominee of the Democratic national convention. This failing it was proposed to substitute Van Buren for president and Harrison for vice-president. This in turn was abandoned and the original resolution was adopted. This meeting seems to have been an attempt by the Whigs to enlist all the citizens of the county in support of Harrison on non-partisan grounds. The Democrats were not satisfied with the nomination and within a few weeks they held a meeting and passed resolutions supporting Van Buren and Johnson, approving the national convention to be held at Baltimore, appointing a vigilance committee of over sixty, and recommending a county

[108] *Indiana Democrat*, Sept. 23, 1835, official returns.
[109] *Indiana Palladium*, Feb. 21, 1835.

convention in May, "having in view the sustenance of their principles."[110]

Following the congressional elections, the chief political interest of the year among the Democrats in Indiana was the preparation for the state convention in January, 1836. Again, as in 1833, the party newspapers of the state led and directed the movement. An editorial in the *Democrat,* early in September, presented the matter by saying:[111] "Within a few weeks it has been suggested to us by a number of the friends of the administration in different parts of the state that it would be good policy to hold a state convention at Indianapolis on the eighth of January next for the purpose of forming an electoral ticket. * * * As the meeting of the legislature will afford the only good opportunity of procuring a full attendance of delegates, we approve the suggestion. * * * Primary meetings in all parts of the state will, of course, be held if the suggestion is generally approved and so far as we are informed the friends of the Administration in this part of the state will unite in the convention." In a later issue the editor wrote:[112] "We are now convinced that a Democratic state convention will be held during the ensuing session of the legislature. * * * The eighth of January appears to be the day most generally fixed on for that purpose." Again he wrote:[113] "The editors of the *Indiana Palladium* warmly second the proposal of the *Democrat* for a convention." Early in October the editor of the *Western Sun* wrote that the time for action had arrived and he proposed that meetings of all those friendly to the election of Van Buren and Johnson should be held in the several counties in the state on the second Saturday of November to elect delegates to the state convention.[114] He asked all the Democratic editors in the state to make similar appointments in their respective counties. A little later the editor of the *Democrat* wrote:[115] "Nearly all the Democratic editors in

[110] *Indiana Democrat,* Apr. 4, 1835.
[111] *Ibid,* Sept. 2, 1835.
[112] *Ibid,* Sept. 30, 1835.
[113] *Ibid,* Oct. 7, 1835.
[114] *Western Sun,* Oct. 10, 1835.
[115] *Indiana Democrat,* Oct. 21, 1835.

Indiana have come out in favor of the proposed state convention." By the end of November meetings appointing delegates to the convention had been held in most of the counties of the state.[116] A number of these meetings also effected county organization.

The convention assembled on January 8, 1836, at Indianapolis and two hundred eighty-one delegates representing sixty-two counties produced their credentials.[117] A committee was appointed, consisting of five members from each of the seven congressional districts, to nominate officers and recommend rules for the government of the convention. The officers appointed were a president, seven vice-presidents, one for each congressional district, and two secretaries, and the rules of the house of representatives of Indiana were adopted so far as applicable for the convention. All those in attendance who were friendly to the election of Van Buren and Johnson, who were then members of the general assembly, or who had been members of any "Republican" state convention or of the national convention, or who had been presidential electors, were invited to take seats as members of the convention. A committee composed of one from each congressional district was appointed to prepare an address and resolutions. The delegates from each congressional district nominated the presidential electors for their respective districts, and the two senatorial electors were nominated by a committee composed of five from each congressional district. An equivalent number of contingent electors were nominated. A majority vote in the respective districts was required for a choice of an elector and each county was allowed as many votes as it was entitled to members in the house of representatives.

The nomination of presidential electors was the primary purpose for which the convention assembled, but perhaps no less important was its work in party organization. A committee of three from each congressional district was appointed to prepare and report to the convention a mode of organizing the party in the state. The report was adopted. It provided for a state cen-

[116] *Western Sun*, Nov. 21 and 28, 1835.

[117] See *Western Sun*, Jan. 23 and 26, 1836, for full account of the convention; account also in *Globe*, Feb. 19, 1836.

tral committee of sixteen persons who should reside in or near Indianapolis; a committee of five in or near the center of each congressional district; and a committee of six in or near the center of each county. Each of these committees was authorized to fill any vacancy which might arise in its membership until a reorganization of the party by a subsequent state convention emanating from the people. A majority of the members of any of these committees constituted a quorum. The duties of the state central committee were: to correspond with the county committees; to collect political information and transmit it to the people throughout the state; to harmonize conflicting interests and secure the triumph of Democratic principles; to give notice of all vacancies which might occur in the departments of the government of the state; and to call a state convention whenever in their opinion, the public interest might demand it. The convention referred the naming of the members of the congressional district and county committees to the delegates present from the respective districts and counties. In counties not represented in the state convention, the committees of the congressional districts in which they were located were to appoint their corresponding committees. The duties of the county corresponding committees were: to appoint committees of vigilance in the townships with instructions to organize the townships by adding to their numbers all the Democratic citizens thereof; to apportion to each township its number of delegates to the county convention; to ascertain from the committees of vigilance the strength of the parties within their several townships and report the same to the state committee and to the congressional district committee annually as soon as practicable after the April election. The citizens of the townships were to appoint and instruct delegates to county conventions and these were to appoint and instruct delegates to representative, senatorial, and congressional district conventions. A committee of three was directed to publish twenty thousand copies of the proceedings of the convention and to collect the necessary contributions to defray the expense. It was the duty of another committee to invite Van Buren, Johnson, and Benton to visit Indiana during the ensuing season. The convention adjourned on January 9.

Organization in 1836.

Some effects of the work of the state convention may be traced through the following months. The central committee held meetings in February and issued a circular to the voters of the state.[118] The plan of organization suggested by the state convention was not followed strictly by the committee but the end sought was the same. The circular recommended the Democrats to convene in the several townships early in April and choose committees of vigilance. These committees were to call township meetings and it was suggested that they prepare lists of the voters in each township noting their political affiliations; also that they obtain assistance for supporting reading rooms in the more populous towns where the newspapers of the day might be made free and accessible to all. Those counties in which committees had not already been appointed were urged to call conventions for that purpose. County and township organization was regarded as of the utmost importance, without which the work of the state committee would be in vain. It was urged that candidates for the state legislature be selected with special reference to their political opinions especially in view of the approaching election of a United States senator.

An editorial in the *Democrat* in March observed that in many parts of the state the friends of the party were organizing in advance of the recommendation of the state committee in preparation for county conventions for the formation of Democratic tickets to be supported at the August election.[119] "It is the duty of the county committees," said the editorial, "to appoint the township committees. But when the county committees fail to act with energy, let the Democrats of the township go ahead themselves." In Hamilton County the plan of organization suggested by the state convention was closely followed. The members of the county committee appointed by the state convention, met and appointed township committees.[120] These were requested to add to their number every Democratic voter in their

[118] *Indiana Democrat,* Feb. 24, and Mar. 2, 1836.
[119] *Indiana Democrat* Extra, March 16, 1836.
[120] *Indiana Democrat,* May 4, 1836.

respective townships and to call a meeting to appoint one delegate for every thirty-three voters in the township to meet in county convention and nominate a ticket for the August election. A district convention, held in connection with the Lagrange County convention at Bloomfield in June, to nominate a candidate for representative to the state legislature, showed interest and united action.[121] The district embraced the counties of Lagrange, Noble, Steuben, and DeKalb and the several townships in the district were all represented.

As the fall election approached the state central committee issued another address to the voters of the state, dwelling upon the importance of the election, and calling upon all citizens to do their duty.[122] A little later this committee recommended that a convention be held on January 8, 1837, for nominating candidates for the offices of governor and lieutenant governor and suggested that township meetings be held on the twenty-sixth of November and county meetings for appointing delegates the week following.[123] An editorial in the same issue stated that meetings had already been held in several counties recommending a convention and appointing delegates. After the election in which Indiana gave Harrison forty-one thousand and Van Buren thirty-two thousand,[124] the central committee withdrew the call for the convention.[125] This action was explained by an editorial in the *Democrat* which stated that the presidential election had "caused a lukewarmness and indifference in the Republican [Democratic] ranks." The people rather than the committee had lost confidence and felt that the Whig candidate would without doubt be elected.

The congressional as well as the presidential election occurred in Ohio in 1836 and the system of both district and county conventions was almost uniformly adopted. Some advancement was made in organization. In the district conventions the votes

[121] *Indiana Democrat,* June 22, 1836.
[122] *Ibid,* Sept. 28, 1836.
[123] *Ibid,* Nov. 9, 1836.
[124] Official returns in *Western Sun,* Jan. 7, 1837.
[125] *Indiana Democrat,* Nov. 30, 1836.

of the counties were apportioned according to population.[126] In Pickaway County all delegates to district and state conventions were provided with certified lists of their respective delegations.[127] The names of delegates to the county convention and of corresponding committees for the townships were sometimes sent directly to the county committee by the clerks of the township meetings.[128] In a Muskingum County meeting a committee of five was appointed to communicate with several congressmen and invite them to visit Zanesville, and county and township committees were appointed to serve until others should be duly appointed to succeed them.[129] A later meeting in the same county appointed a "congressional county committee" of five whose duty it was "to have general superintendence and direction over all documents and proceedings emanating from the Democratic party or any member thereof in the approaching electioneering contest."[130] This committee was to coöperate with the central committee of the county. A Hamilton County meeting recommended the county convention not to nominate any one for office who would not pledge himself "to obey any instructions that might be forwarded to him by a majority of the Democratic party of that county, after his election by them, or to resign his seat instantly."[131] In Logan County a financial committee of four was appointed to collect funds for defraying campaign expenses.[132]

While the organization was generally solidifying it disap-

[126] *Western Hemisphere,* June 15, 1836, quoting *Cleveland Advertiser; Western Hemisphere,* Aug. 31, 1836.

[127] *Ibid,* Aug. 17, 1836, quoting *Circleville* (Ohio) *Press.*

[128] *Western Hemisphere,* Apr. 27, 1836, Coshocton County meeting.

[129] *Ibid,* May 18, 1836, quoting *Zanesville Aurora.*

[130] *Western Hemisphere,* July 13, 1836, quoting *Zanesville Aurora.* This Muskingum County meeting was a very enthusiastic one and most of its proceedings were sensible and to the point. One resolution, however, was: *"Resolved,* That it is the unanimous and deliberate opinion of this meeting that Wm. H. Harrison and Francis Granger, the Federal, Whig, Anti-Masonic, and Abolition candidates for president and vice-president, ought not to receive, at the election in November next, in any one of the whole states of the American Union, one, single electoral vote."

[131] *Western Hemisphere,* July 13, 1836.

[132] *Ibid,* Aug. 31, 1836.

peared at times in some of the counties. Franklin County in the centre of the state and the seat of the capital city had no Democratic party organization early in July, 1836.[133] This was doubtless partly due to the fact that Franklin was a Whig county, though at times, as already observed, its Democratic organization had been well developed. A call for a county convention was at this time circulating in the townships. Should this plan fail, wrote the editor of the *Monitor*, the next advisable course would be for the congressional committeeman appointed at the last Democratic state convention for each county, to call a convention in his county. He called the attention of the congressional committeemen in the counties of the district to this suggestion and urged the holding of county and district conventions. "There is no correct way," he added, "of obtaining a congressional convention but through county conventions." In response to this agitation there appeared in the columns of the *Hemisphere* a call for a county convention on July 30, to nominate delegates to a congressional district convention and to form a ticket for the October election.[134] This county convention was duly held.[135] It revived the county organization, nominated a county ticket and appointed six delegates to the district convention which occurred in August.[136] Thus the organization was speedily restored.

The most enthusiastic organizing activity of the year was that of the young men and one of the most interesting features about it was the agency of the press in developing it. The movement for a young men's state convention was begun by an editorial in the *Dayton Herald* about the first of May.[137] "Let us have a young men's state convention," wrote the editor. "Let the state central committee designate time and place for such convention to assemble and give general and timely notice of the same. * * * The above hints are thrown out for the consideration of our brethren of the Democratic presses in Ohio. We hope they will give the subject deliberate consideration and

[133] *Western Hemisphere,* July 6, quoting *Ohio Monitor.*
[134] *Western Hemisphere,* July 13, 1836.
[135] *Ibid,* Aug. 3, 1836.
[136] *Ibid,* Aug. 31, 1836.
[137] *Ibid,* May 4, 1836, quoting *Dayton Herald.*

also their views through the medium of their respective papers." The *Ohio Eagle* warmly seconded this editorial in the *Herald* and suggested to the central committee the fourth of July as the time for the convention.[138] The editor of the *Hemisphere* wrote: "We should, in common with our Dayton brother, be pleased to hear an expression of opinion on the subject from the conductors of Democratic presses in different sections of the state."[139] The subject was taken up with enthusiasm by a number of the Democratic papers such as the *Zanesville Aurora, St. Clairsville Gazette, Ohio Sun* (Batavia), *Elyria Republican, Steubenville Union, Coshocton Horizon, Washington Genius of Liberty,* and the *Cleveland Advertiser.*[140] The editors of the *Warren News Letter* and the *New Lisbon Patriot* were not opposed to the convention but thought efficient county and township organizations would be preferable. To this the editor of the *Hemisphere* rejoined that at a state convention where every county and section of the state would be represented, much might be done to facilitate organization, and that he understood this to be the chief object of the convention.

The state central committee, one of whose members was the editor of the *Western Hemisphere,* issued a circular of inquiry to the respective county corresponding committees of the state on the subject of the proposed young men's convention and the replies were so assuring that on July 20, the committee issued a formal call for the convention to be held at Columbus on September 9.[141] The Democratic papers throughout the state were requested to copy this notice. Enthusiastic county meetings were held in all parts of the state and delegates were appointed in generous numbers. In Delaware County all the Democratic young men under the age of thirty-one were authorized and urgently requested to attend.[142] The Franklin County convention appointed five hundred delegates,[143] Ross one hundred

[138] *Western Hemisphere,* May 4, 1836, quoting *Ohio Eagle.*
[139] *Western Hemisphere,* May 4, 1836.
[140] *Ibid,* June 1, 1836.
[141] *Ibid,* July 20, 1836.
[142] *Ibid,* Aug. 17, 1836, quoting *National Republican.*
[143] *Western Hemisphere,* Aug. 3, 1836.

thirty,[144] Clinton and Fayette each seventy-three,[145] Muskingum fifty,[146] Clermont thirty-one,[147] and Hardin three.[148] Several days before the convention assembled more than twelve hundred delegates had been appointed[149] but only about half this number attended.[150]

The organization and work of this convention was somewhat similar to that of the regular convention in January.[151] Governor Lucas and others attended and addressed the convention by invitation. Besides the address and resolutions adopted by the convention, an address was to be prepared for the benefit of the German citizens and another for the Welsh citizens of the state. A committee of three from each county was named to call a meeting in its county and take such measures as would insure a complete organization of the Democratic young men of the state. A "Young Men's Central Committee" of fifteen was appointed, seven of whom resided in Franklin County in which Columbus was located. The central committee was directed to collect the necessary funds to publish the proceedings and address and these were to be distributed among the counties in proportion to their representation in the general assembly.

The activity of the press during this campaign in Ohio deserves a further word. Early in June the Democratic central corresponding committee of Pickaway County had established at Circleville a paper entitled the *Ohio Press* which they conducted with much zeal and ability.[152] Beginning with July 4, the publishers of the *Western Hemisphere* issued a supplementary campaign extra entitled the *Magician,* which was continued till after the election.[153]

[144] *Western Hemisphere,* Aug. 31, 1836.

[145] *Ibid,* Aug. 31 and Sept. 7, 1836.

[146] *Ibid,* July 27, 1836.

[147] It is gratifying to be assured by the *Ohio Sun* (quoted in *Western Hemisphere,* Sept. 7, 1836) that this Clermont County meeting was "no gormandizing, intemperate, ox-eating humbug."

[148] *Western Hemisphere,* Sept. 7, 1836.

[149] *Ibid,* Sept. 7, 1836.

[150] *Globe,* Sept. 21, 1836, quoting *National Republican.*

[151] See *Globe,* Sept. 23, 1836, for account of this convention.

[152] *Western Hemisphere,* June 8, 1836.

[153] *Ibid,* July 20, 1836.

In the congressional election in Ohio the Whigs carried eleven of the nineteen districts[154] and in the presidential election Harrison received one hundred and five thousand and Van Buren ninety-seven thousand votes.[155] The Democrats of the state however rejoiced in the national victory of their party and seemed oblivious to the local defeat. A movement was at once begun to celebrate the national victory and in addition to immediate demonstrations, the ninth of the following January, (the eighth being Sunday) was set apart for a Democratic Jubilee at Columbus and various other places in the state, which was duly observed by speeches and feasting.[156]

[154] *Ohio State Journal,* Oct. 22, 1836.
[155] *Niles' Register,* Dec. 3, 1836.
[156] *Western Hemisphere,* Nov. 30, 1836; *Ibid,* Jan. 11 and 18, 1837.

CHAPTER III.

EXTENSION TO ILLINOIS AND MICHIGAN.

Beginnings in Illinois.

In Illinois political parties were much slower in developing their organization than in Ohio and Indiana. Several causes contributed to this. It was a more sparsely settled frontier state with a less advanced population. The townships which were so important a factor in party organization in Ohio and Indiana, because through their meetings and delegates they formed the basis for the whole convention system, were entirely lacking in Illinois until after the Jacksonian period. Instead of the township there was only the precinct, a mere voting district without local government or organization as in the township, in which the only uniting influence was an annual election.[1] The great difficulty was in the primary meetings in the precincts which were very poorly attended and were a prey to professional politicians. Moreover, party organization was not extended to the precincts until 1835 and then only in a few cases in the northern part of the state. In December, 1835, the Illinois senate expressed opposition to the convention system by resolving that "every person eligible to the office of president has a right to come forward as a candidate for it without the intervention of caucuses and conventions" and that they "disapprove of the convention system attempted to be forced upon the American people by the Van Buren party and believe it to be destructive of the freedom of the elective franchise, opposed to republican institutions, and dangerous to the liberties of the people."[2] In writing of the convention system in Illinois Governor Ford said:[3] "The western Democrats looked upon it with

[1] Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), p. 206.

[2] *Niles Register,* XLIX, p. 384; *Illinois Advocate* (Vandalia), Dec. 23, 1835. This resolution was passed by a vote of 13 to 12.

[3] Ford, *History of Illinois,* p. 203.

a good deal of suspicion. It was considered a Yankee contrivance, intended to abridge the liberties of the people by depriving individuals on their own mere motion, of the privilege of becoming candidates, and depriving each man of the right to vote for a candidate of his own selection and choice." Under such circumstances it is easy to understand why the development of political party organization was later in Illinois than in the older states. However by 1840 the convention system was fairly well established in Illinois. The party was organized upon the principles of national politics only and not upon those of the state.[4] In this respect Illinois was in marked contrast with Indiana in which national party lines had little to do with state elections.

This backwardness of Illinois in party organization is particularly noteworthy in view of the fact that from 1824 to 1840 this state was conspicuously under he control of the Democratic party which was the party *par excellence* of organization. From 1824 to 1840 the congressmen from Illinois were uniformly Democratic, except in the last two years in the northern district, and the state always supported a Democratic president. The governor and legislature were also invariably Democratic.

In the election of 1824 a plurality of the popular votes of the state had been claimed for Jackson and he had received two of its electoral votes, the third being cast for Adams, for in Illinois the district plan was then pursued in choosing electors instead of the general ticket plan.[5] When the election went to the house of representatives the one representative of Illinois cast his vote for Adams claiming that he had received the plurality of the popular votes of the state, but this congressman was superseded by a Jackson man in 1826.

In February, 1827, the house of representatives of Illinois resolved by a vote of nineteen to eleven, that although they did not "consider it the province of the legislature to dictate to the people in regard to the presidential election," yet they believed "General Andrew Jackson eminently qualified and justly entitled to the office from the important services" he had rendered his

[4] Ford, *History of Illinois*, p. 207.

[5] By an Act of the Illinois legislature, Jan. 11, 1827, the general ticket plan was introduced for use in presidential elections.

country.[6] This resolution was approved by a large meeting of Republican citizens in Belleville, St. Clair County in March, which recommended the citizens of the state friendly to the election of Jackson to assemble in the different counties and adopt resolutions and measures to promote his election.[7] In 1828 the state was composed of three electoral districts and in the spring the friends of Jackson in Fayette County held a meeting at Vandalia, then the state capital, and recommended the citizens of the counties of the northern district to hold meetings and appoint delegates to a convention at Springfield.[8] The accounts of some of these county meetings are preserved in the newspapers of that time. Two were held on March 3, 1828, one in Montgomery County, the other in Greene County, both of which approved the recommendations of the Vandalia meeting and appointed delegates to the northern electoral district convention to be held at Springfield in May.[9]

In harmony with the action taken by members of the legislatures of Ohio, Indiana, and several other states, both houses of the legislature of Illinois in January, 1831, passed by almost unanimous votes resolutions favoring the election of Jackson for a second term.[10] A meeting of the citizens of Fayette County and others from various counties of Illinois attending the supreme court of Vandalia in December, 1831, recommended the support of Jackson for the next presidency in conjunction with such person for vice-president as the Baltimore convention might select.[11] This meeting further recommended the citizens who were friendly to the reelection of Jackson to assemble in their several counties in the three congressional districts of the state[12]

[6] Journal of the House of Representatives of Illinois, Feb. 19, 1827.

[7] *U. S. Telegraph,* April 7, 1827.

[8] The knowledge of this Vandalia meeting comes from the accounts of the county meetings next referred to in the text.

[9] *National Republican,* Mar. 28, 1828; *U. S. Telegraph,* Apr. 12, 1828. No record of this district convention seems to be preserved.

[10] Journals of the House of Representatives, and of the Senate of Illinois, Jan. 3, 1831.

[11] *Globe,* Jan. 5, 1832, quoting *Illinois Intelligencer.*

[12] The state had been divided into three congressional districts by an Act of the legislature, Feb. 15, 1831, in anticipation of the congressional apportionment Act of 1832. Previously Illinois had had but one representative in congress.

as soon as practicable and to choose three delegates to attend conventions in their respective districts at Kaskaskia, Vandalia, and Springfield during the spring terms of the circuit courts in the counties of Randolph, Fayette, and Sangamon, to agree upon the selection of suitable persons to be supported as electors of president and vice-president. A committee of twenty-four was appointed to prepare and publish an address to the citizens of Illinois on the objects of the meeting and the next presidential election. Three delegates were appointed to represent Fayette County at the congressional district convention at Vandalia; and although this meeting was in no sense a regular state convention composed of delegates duly appointed, it chose four delegates to represent Illinois at the Baltimore convention. Pursuant to the recommendation of this Vandalia meeting, county meetings were held in each of the three congressional districts which appointed delegates to the district conventions.[13] A meeting in Adams County besides appointing delegates to the district convention at Springfield, appointed a committee of correspondence for the county. The four delegates appointed by the Vandalia meeting to the Baltimore convention were approved and it took the liberty of appointing an additional delegate in behalf of the citizens of the fifth judicial circuit. No records seem to be preserved of any of the district conventions but the electoral ticket which later appeared for Jackson and Van Buren would indicate that they were held.

At this time the Democrats of Illinois were divided into two factions on the subject of the vice-presidency, some favoring Van Buren, others R. M. Johnson. The movement for Johnson began in a meeting at Vandalia early in January, 1832, the object of which was to nominate a candidate for vice-president.[14] Col. A. P. Field introduced resolutions in support of Johnson and some friction was aroused, but after the retirement of its opponents this nomination was carried. This was followed by a call for a Jackson and Johnson state convention.[15] Those

[13] *Illinois Advocate* (Edwardsville), Mar. 9 and 23, 1832.

[14] *U. S. Telegraph,* Feb. 21, 1832, quoting *Illinois Journal* (Springfield).

[15] *Western Sun,* Feb. 25, 1832; *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield, Ill.), March 8, 1832.

friendly to these candidates were requested to appoint delegates to meet on March 26 at the state house in Vandalia for the purpose of nominating electors. Preparatory to this state convention a Fayette county meeting was held at Vandalia in February and appointed twelve delegates.[16] No record appears of any other preparatory meetings but on March 26 the convention was held.[17] Five persons were nominated, one from each of the five judicial circuits of the state, to be supported as candidates for electors for Jackson and Johnson, provided the latter should be supported by the Jackson party in any of the states. But if there should be no hope of electing Johnson, these electors were to be at liberty to vote for another candidate. An address to the people of the United States was prepared; committees of correspondence were appointed for each of the five judicial districts and a central committee of twelve for the state. Two thousand copies of the address adopted in favor of Johnson were to be printed and distributed among the counties of the state. No delegates were appointed to the Baltimore convention and it was disregarded.

Of the four delegates appointed to the Baltimore convention by the Vandalia meeting in December, two attended, and these divided the vote of Illinois in the nomination of vice-president between Van Buren and Johnson.[18] In the November election the five Van Buren electors were chosen and thus he received all the electoral votes of Illinois for vice-president. In the presidential elections of both 1828 and 1832 in Illinois Jackson received more than double the number of votes received by the opposing candidate.[19]

The strife between the Van Buren and Johnson factions in Illinois did not cease with the election of 1832 but was re-

[16] *Sangamo Journal,* March 1, 1832.

[17] *Ibid,* Apr. 5, 1832; *U. S. Telegraph,* Apr. 14, 1832, quoting *Vandalia* (Illinois) *Whig.*

[18] *U. S. Telegraph,* May 25, 1832.

[19] Official returns, office of Illinois Secretary of State.

1828		1832	
Jackson	9560	Jackson	14617
Adams	4662	Clay	6744

In 1828 Jackson received majorities in 37 of the 42 counties. In 1832 he received majorities in 46 of the 53 counties.

newed in 1833 and 1834 in connection with the campaign for governor to be elected in 1834,[20] and a Johnson meeting in Vandalia in February of that year nominated him for president and appointed six delegates to attend a Democratic Johnson state convention.[21] No time was then fixed for this convention and it was probably not held.

John Reynolds who had been governor since 1830 was elected to congress in 1834 and in speaking of the campaign he said:[22] "At that day the convention system was not established and as many persons offered their services as pleased. * * * There were in the field three candidates for congress [in the first district], all Democrats and Jackson men. All the candidates offered without a convention. * * * At the same election Kinney and Duncan were candidates for governor, also without a convention." The only organized method for promoting the cause of a candidate for public office was the county meeting and a number of these were held for the purpose of nominating favorite candidates.[23]

Development in Illinois, 1835-36.

The year 1835 practically marked the beginning of party organization on a large scale in Illinois. In that year the Democrats began in earnest to prepare for the coming presidential campaign along lines which were followed in other states. Two Democratic state conventions were held at Vandalia, the state capital, that year; one in April to appoint delegates to the Baltimore convention in May and one in December to choose presidential electors. The movement for the April convention was begun in that same month and because of this short time it was not largely attended. In Fayette County itself, the seat of the capital, after repeated calls for it, a meeting was held at Vandalia April 18, to express opinions upon the national convention.[24]

[20] *Globe,* Feb. 22, 1833. Illinois elected a governor every four years.

[21] *Illinois Advocate and State Register* (Vandalia), Feb. 22, 1834; *Sangamo Journal,* March 1, 1834.

[22] John Reynolds, *History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1879), p. 283.

[23] *Illinois Advocate,* Dec. 7, 1833; Jan. 11 and Feb. 22, 1834; *Chicago Democrat,* Jan. 21, 1834.

[24] *Illinois Advocate,* Apr. 1, 15, and 22, 1835.

It was resolved that, as the shortness of the time rendered it impracticable to hold a state convention for appointing delegates to the national convention, county meetings should be held throughout the state approving the national convention and agreeing to support its nominations. Precisely the same attitude had been taken by a meeting in St. Clair County.[25] But the Morgan County meeting, under the leadership of S. S. Brooks, editor of the *Jacksonville News*, and Stephen A. Douglas,[26] resolved, "that * * * Illinois should be fully represented in the proposed convention at Baltimore; and that for the purpose of appointing delegates thereto, a state convention be held at Vandalia, April 27, to be composed of delegates from all the counties in the state equal in number to the representation in the legislature."[27] Six delegates were then chosen to represent Morgan County in such a state convention with instructions to select delegates who would favor Van Buren and Johnson. On the same day the Democrats of Greene County held a meeting which was soon followed by meetings in Sangamon and Edgar Counties, all of which appointed delegates to the state convention.[28]

One of the most active Democratic meetings of the year was held at Chicago about a week after the Morgan County meeting.[29] Among its resolutions were the following:

"*Whereas*, There has not heretofore been such an organization of the party in this town, county, or state as would give to individual members a voice in the selection of candidates to be supported for office, * * * therefore:

"*Resolved*, That an immediate and thorough organization throughout the state in accordance with the principles and usages of the Democratic party, is not only expedient but absolutely necessary to its present united and efficient action. * * *

[25] *Illinois Advocate*, Apr. 1, 1835.

[26] For the part taken by Douglas in promoting Democratic party organization in Illinois, see James W. Sheahan, *The Life of Stephen A. Douglas* (New York, 1860); Allen Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas: A Study in American Politics* (New York, 1908).

[27] *Illinois Advocate*, June 3, 1835.

[28] *Ibid*, Apr. 22, 29, and June 3, 1835.

[29] *Ibid*, June 3, 1835.

And while we pledge ourselves to use all necessary and proper means to effect such an organization in this town, we earnestly recommend a similar course to our political brethren in the different precincts, villages and settlements in this county and in the different counties throughout the state." A committee of correspondence was appointed for Chicago and the Democrats "throughout the state and especially in the different precincts and settlements" of that county were earnestly solicited to appoint similar committees. It was resolved to coöperate with the Democrats of the county in holding a county convention to nominate candidates for offices to be filled at the August election, and to support for all public offices only those candidates who should be duly nominated by a convention of delegates fairly called together. Two citizens of Vandalia were requested to represent the Democrats of Chicago in the state convention, "should such convention, in accordance with the recommendations of our political friends of Morgan and other counties, be held." Three hundred copies of the proceedings were to be printed, some of which were to be distributed among the Democratic editors throughout the state for publication. This unique plan of appointing delegates to the state convention who lived at the seat of the proposed convention was doubtless because of the great distance of Vandalia from Chicago and the shortness of the time.

The state convention assembled at Vandalia on the twenty-seventh and held sessions on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth.[30] Because of the short notice and of the "idea having gone abroad that there would not be sufficient time to hold a convention before the meeting of the convention at Baltimore," the attendance was small, only a few counties being represented at all and these only partially so. An active part was taken by the delegates from Morgan and Sangamon Counties and two from each of these counties were among the officers chosen by the convention.[31] Five delegates were appointed to atttend the Baltimore convention and were instructed to support the nomination of Van Buren and Johnson. The Democrats throughout

[30] *Illinois Advocate,* Apr. 29, 1835.
[31] *Sangamo Journal,* May 16, 1835.

the state were requested to hold county meetings where they had not already been held and concur in the proceedings of this convention. The proceedings and address were directed to be printed in a hand bill for distribution.

In accordance with the request of the state convention, its proceedings were approved by a meeting in Clinton County,[32] but during April and May several meetings were held in counties remote from Vandalia which had no knowledge of this convention. For instance, a meeting at Shelbyville two days prior to the state convention, solicited and recommended fourteen named delegates from various counties of the state to attend the Baltimore convention.[33] Democratic meetings in Vermillion, Jo Davies and La Salle Counties made no mention of the Vandalia convention.[34] The meeting in La Salle County adopted resolutions on organization evidently modeled upon those of the Chicago meeting in April. Committees were appointed for the county and precinct and the convention system was strongly supported.

During June and July, 1835, the plans for organization suggested by the April meeting in Chicago were carried out by the Democratic party in that vicinity and apparently for the first time in Illinois there was a county convention composed of delegates duly appointed by the precincts.[35] This convention was held in Cook County, July 4, in response to a call by the Chicago committee requesting the precincts to send delegates.[36] At the same time the committee requested the Democrats in the other counties of the district to send delegates to a senatorial convention at Ottawa, July 8. The Cook County convention nominated candidates for county officers, made county organization and appointed delegates to the senatorial convention.[37] This latter convention nominated a senator and appointed a senatorial district corresponding committee of two in each county.[38] In the

[32] *Illinois Advocate,* May 27, 1835, quoting *St. Clair Gazette.*
[33] *Illinois Advocate,* May 6, 1835.
[34] *Ibid,* June 3 and 10, 1835.
[35] *Chicago Democrat,* July 8, 1835, editorial.
[36] *Ibid,* June 24 and July 1, 1835.
[37] *Ibid,* July 8, 1835.
[38] *Ibid,* July 15, 1835.

latter part of July a Democratic primary meeting was held in the Chicago precinct which nominated officers for the precinct, and appointed a committee of nine to bring out the entire Democratic vote at the next election.[39] Thus the convention system of nominations was extended to precinct, county, and district.

The next general organizing activity of the party in Illinois was the movement for a state convention to be held in December, 1835, for choosing presidential electors. In this movement Mr. Douglas and Morgan county again took the initiative. At a Morgan county meeting at Jacksonville in June in which Douglas was active, a decided stand was taken in support of conventions and the meeting recommended the friends of Van Buren and Johnson to hold meetings in their respective counties throughout the state and send delegates to a state convention to be held at Vandalia in December, to form a Democratic electoral ticket for the state.[40] Each county was requested to send a number of delegates equal to its number of representatives in both branches of the legislature and every county was to send at least one delegate. Delegates were appointed from Morgan and a county organization of the party was effected.

From July to November a large number of county meetings were held, all of which appointed delegates to the state convention and a number of them effected county organizations.[41] None of these meetings seems to have been composed of delegates regularly appointed by the precincts but the Peoria county meeting appointed a committee of correspondence consisting of three in each precinct of the county[42] and the meeting in Cook county recommended the precincts to appoint committees and to present their names to the county committees.[43] The delegates from Wabash county were provided with certified copies of the pro-

[39] *Chicago Democrat,* July 29, 1835. A series of editorials appeared in this paper in the summer of 1835 in support of the convention system of nominations.

[40] *Ibid,* July 15, 1835.

[41] *Illinois Advocate,* July to Nov., 1835.

[42] *Ibid,* Dec. 2, 1835.

[43] *Chicago Democrat,* Oct. 14, 1835.

ceedings of the meeting, which served as their credentials to the state convention.[44]

The convention held its sessions at Vandalia, December 7 and 8.[45] At this time there were about sixty counties in the state and twenty-three of these were represented in the convention by seventy delegates. The rules for the government of the house of representatives of Illinois were adopted for the government of the convention. A committee appointed by the president, consisting of one from each county represented, selected the five candidates for presidential electors who should vote for Van Buren and Johnson. An address was prepared to the people of the state. The most interesting feature of the convention was an exciting debate during the session of the second evening on the introduction of the convention system into Illinois.[46] A Mr. Peck, of Chicago, offered resolutions the object of which was to introduce in Illinois the convention system of nominating all candidates for state and county officers and to prevent the election of all persons who would not submit to the decision of these conventions. He opened the discussion by observing that some of his party had prejudices against the plan. The convention system, he said, was all that could save the party; it brought men under proper control; it tested their fidelity to party. The system had worked well in New York. If southern Illinois was not ready for it, the third congressional district might adopt it.

The chairman, Mr. Maxwell, thought it too soon to force the convention system upon the people. They were not prepared for it. He believed the whole system to be anti-Republican, and although Wyatt and Douglas said it worked well in Morgan county, he was "afraid it would not go down with the old-fashioned Democrats." He stated that inasmuch as the proceedings of the meeting were taking a turn which he did not approve and one which he was convinced the people would much less approve, he would therefore be constrained to leave the chair. This he did and a momentary confusion ensued which was soon settled by the mounting of a second chairman, William Weather-

[44] *Western Sun,* Dec. 15, 1835.

[45] Proceedings given in *Illinois Advocate,* Dec. 17, 1835.

[46] Account given in *Sangamo Journal,* Feb. 6, 13, and 20, 1836.

ford, upon the rostrum. Mr. Douglas of Morgan County said he had lived in New York, was well acquainted with the convention system, and knew that it was the only way to manage elections with success. "Gentlemen," he said, "were mistaken when they supposed that the people of the West had too long enjoyed their own opinions to submit quietly to the regulation of a convention." He knew better. He claimed the honor of having introduced it into the county of Morgan; and there it had "already prostrated one distinguished individual holding high office." He said the convention system had already been introduced with great success by Mr. Van Buren's friends into Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Ohio, and Indiana. Mr. Caton, formerly of New York, then of Chicago, spoke warmly for conventions and said that the ex-chairman, Mr. Maxwell, also favored state and national conventions, but opposed county and district conventions because he said the people were "not prepared to give up their old ways." The immediate result of the debate was that the resolutions in favor of the convention system which had precipitated it were not adopted.

The convention question was also discussed in the state legislature in the session of 1835-36. The senate passed resolutions recommending Hugh L. White for the presidency and at the same time adopted the resolutions already given opposing the convention system.[47] In the house of representatives some days later, resolutions were adopted recommending the support of Van Buren and Johnson, favoring the convention system, and disapproving the "efforts of the opposition party to divide the Jackson Democratic party and thus bring the election into the house of representatives."[48]

During the year 1836 there were a number of county and district conventions in the northern part of the state. In the spring, through the leadership of Douglas and Brooks, the Democrats of Morgan County were induced to hold a convention at Jacksonville in April for the purpose of forming a county ticket.[49]

[47] See p. 68; *Illinois Advocate,* Dec. 23, 1835.

[48] *Ibid,* Jan. 6, and Feb. 10, 1836.

[49] For account of this activity in Morgan County, see Sheahan, *Life of Douglas,* p. 25, *et seq.*

Every precinct was represented by delegates and a ticket was nominated. This was the first regular convention composed of delegates duly appointed by the precincts, ever held in that county, though there had been one in Cook County the previous year.[50] Such unity and concentration were necessary if the Democrats would win, particularly in Morgan County, which was Whig. Previous to this time a half dozen or more candidates in each of the parties had often run for the same office. Douglas made a thorough canvass of the county and fought the first fight there in behalf of regular nominations and all but one of the Democratic candidates were elected.

At Flag Creek near Chicago a senatorial district convention was held in July composed of delegates duly appointed from the several precincts of Will and Cook Counties which nominated one candidate for the state senate, three for representatives, and recommended Wm. L. May as representative to congress from the third district.[51] The delegates from Will County then withdrew and those of Cook nominated a county ticket and resolved "that the county corresponding committee be empowered to specify the number of delegates to be hereafter admitted to represent each precinct in future conventions." A Peoria County meeting in March nominated a candidate for the house of representatives, chose delegates to meet with delegates from Putnam County to nominate a candidate for the senate, chose delegates to attend a congressional district convention at Peoria in May, and adjourned to a later date to nominate county officers.[52]

This year there occurred the first congressional district convention in Illinois to nominate a candidate for congress.[53] It met in May at Peoria in the third or northern district of the state and there are accounts of several county meetings which appointed delegates to it.[54] It was poorly attended but nominated Wm. L. May for congress and he was elected. This district

[50] See p. 76.

[51] *Chicago Democrat,* July 20, 1836.

[52] *Ibid,* March 30, 1836.

[53] *Ibid,* May 11, 1836; *Illinois State Register and Illinois Advocate* (Vandalia), May 20, 1836.

[54] *Chicago Democrat,* Jan. 27 and Feb. 24, 1836.

was settled by emigrants from New York and New England, like Douglas, who adopted the convention system more readily than did the inhabitants of southern Illinois.[55] Even in the northern district it was hard enough to secure its adoption and much credit for doing so belonged to Douglas. Neither of the other two congressional districts held conventions and although there were two Democratic candidates for congress in each, Democrats were elected in both districts.[56]

Summing up the situation, by the end of 1836 there had been but one congressional district convention in Illinois to nominate a candidate for congress; there had not yet been a convention for the nomination of a governor; the state conventions which had been held, had made no state organization of the party; and the organization had been extended to the precincts only in a few counties in the northern part of the state. On the other hand, county meetings were becoming quite familiar; the delegate system was gaining recognition; conventions in representative, senatorial, and congressional districts as well as state conventions had been introduced; and the ground had been broken for the rapid advancement in party organization which occurred in the next few years.

Organization in Michigan by 1836.

The early history of Democratic party organization in Michigan is in marked contrast to that in Illinois. For several years before Michigan territory was admitted as a state its party organization was well developed. In 1832 and 1833, not to go farther back, there were township meetings and committees, and county, district, and territorial party organization and conventions, to which delegates with credentials were duly appointed.[57]

[55] Reynolds, *History of Illinois*, pp. 304 and 305.

[56] *Illinois State Register*, Sept. 2, 15, and Oct. 7, 1836. The vote of the state in the congressional election was practically 28,000 Democratic and 16,000 Whig. In the presidential election it was 18.000 for Van Buren and 15,000 for Harrison. (*Illinois State Register*, Dec. 2, 1836.)

[57] For account of this see *St. Joseph Beacon*, Feb. 16, June 1 and 15, 1833.

The history of Michigan from 1835 to 1837 was unique.[58] It had a state government long before its admission as a state by congress and this admission was brought about by the Democratic party in Michigan. In January, 1835, just two years before the state was admitted, the legislative council provided for the election of delegates to form a state constitution. This constitution was adopted by the people at an election in October, 1835. In June, 1836, congress passed an act admitting Michigan as a state, provided she would accept boundaries which gave disputed territory to Ohio. The legislature of the territory in July provided for the election of delegates to a convention to consider the subject. This convention met at Ann Arbor September 26 and voted against admission on the terms proposed by congress. The Whigs opposed admission because the state, being Democratic, would aid in electing Van Buren to the presidency but the Democrats did not awaken to the situation till after the convention had voted against admission. This action of the convention caused much dissatisfaction among the Democrats and on November 14, the Democratic committee of Wayne County issued a circular recommending the holding of meetings in all the counties to choose delegates to another convention at Ann Arbor on December 14. It was urged that speedy action was necessary in order to secure to the new state a share of the surplus revenue that congress was about to distribute and also the revenue from public land sales in Michigan. The Whigs held aloof but the convention was held as proposed by the Democrats and resolved to accept the prescribed conditions of admission and congress by a new act formally admitted the state in Januuary, 1837. Thus a convention called by the Democratic party brought about the admission of Michigan and the anomalous government, neither territorial nor state, gave place to that of the state.

Meanwhile party organization had been well developed. Niles in the southwestern part of the state, and Detroit were early active Democratic centers and the party activities in these vicinities give an idea of the political advancement of the state.

[58] T. M. Cooley, *Michigan* (American Commonwealths), (Boston, 1886); Silas Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan* (Detroit, 1889).

A meeting of Democratic Republicans at Niles in August, 1835, approved of the organization of the Democratic party of the territory, resolved to support the Democratic nominations made throughout the territory with a view to state organization and appointed delegates to a Berrien County convention.[59] At this convention, consisting of delegates from the several townships, a committee of one from each of the townships was appointed to examine the credentials of the members.[60] It was resolved: "That we pledge ourselves to the Democratic party of Michigan and to each other, that we will support the regularly nominated candidate of this party as the only efficient means of preserving and perfecting the powers and influence of the party; that this convention is convinced that the principles of Democracy require a strict adherence to conventional nominations." Two delegates were chosen by ballot to represent the county in the convention to be held at Ann Arbor in August to nominate state officers and a representative to congress; two delegates were appointed to attend a senatorial convention to be held at Schoolcraft in September, and a candidate was nominated to represent Berrien County in the state legislature. The convention appointed a central corresponding committee for the county and a committee of three in each of the townships. The senatorial convention at Schoolcraft was attended by eighteen delegates from seven counties.[61] It nominated three candidates to represent the western senatorial district in the state legislature and urged upon the district the importance of supporting the nominations made by this and the different county conventions.

The attitude of the party toward the convention system of nominations was again shown by a resolution of the Oakland County convention, that "all differences of opinion as to candidates for office should terminate whenever a regular nomination is announced by those authorized by the party to make it."[62]

[59] *Niles* (Michigan) *Gazette and Advertiser*, Vol. I, No. 1, Sept. 5, 1835.

[60] *Ibid*, Sept. 5, 1835.

[61] *Ibid*, Sept. 5, 1835.

[62] *Detroit Daily Free Press*, Oct. 1, 1835.

The Democratic state convention held at Ann Arbor, August 20, was quite representative and well attended. Sixteen of the nineteen counties then organized were represented by eighty-nine delegates chosen by county conventions "pursuant to the recommendation of the general committee."[63] Stephens T. Mason was nominated for governor and Isaac E. Crary for representative to congress.[64] It was resolved "that the territorial corresponding committee act in the state of Michigan until the next state convention" and that this committee have power to add to their number one member from each of the new counties organized. The Democratic young men were alert and were organizing in Michigan as elsewhere and the object and proceedings of their late general convention held at Tecumseh were approved by the state convention.

The Democrats were particularly active in and about Detroit at the time of the fall election in 1835, when the state constitution was submitted for ratification and state officers and a representative to congress were elected. Democratic meetings were often held and early in October a resolution was passed by one of them which expressed indignation at "the attempt of the Detroit Whigs to sow dissension among them" and stated that they would "give their [Whig] mixed ticket the same fate as though it partook alone of the Whig leaven."[65] Four Democrats were commended for declining the Whig nomination. At a later meeting the loss of a few who had joined the Whigs was referred to as a great gain to the Democratic party and it was resolved that every effort to alter the Democratic ticket should be watched and discouraged and that every exertion be made to prevent dividing or weakening the ticket.[66] A vigilance committee of forty-one was appointed which was directed to arrange and divide itself into subcommittees so that part of them should always be present at the polls on election days. The editor of the *Press* gave warning to Democratic voters to examine their

[63] *Niles Gazette,* Sept. 12, 1835.

[64] Since Michigan was entitled to but one representative in congress prior to 1840, her congressmen were nominated by the state conventions.

[65] *Detroit Free Press,* Oct. 3, 1835.

[66] *Ibid,* Oct. 5, 1835.

tickets particularly before voting.[67] Tickets with the Democratic candidates for governor, lieutenant governor, and member of congress at the head and the names of the Whig candidates for senate and house of representatives below, were in circulation.

The year 1836 was a stirring one in Michigan politics. There were two conventions on the admission of the state, the latter of which was a Democratic party convention and another for the selection of Democratic presidential electors. Although a Democratic state committee already existed, the movement for a convention for nominating presidential electors began in the legislature. At a meeting of the Democratic members of the legislature, held pursuant to public notice at the Capitol in Detroit, July 25, it was recommended that the Democratic central corresponding committee of the state, call a convention to meet at Ann Arbor, September 28, for the purpose of nominating presidential electors.[68] In pursuance of this recommendation the state committee met in Detroit, August 10, and recommended to the county corresponding committees throughout the state that meetings be held in all the townships to appoint delegates to meet in county convention, August 27, and that these conventions "elect the same number of delegates to the state convention as each county is entitled to members in the state house of representatives.[69] The state committee also recommended that delegates be sent to a convention to give assent to the conditions imposed by congress for the admission of the state. Five hundred copies of the proceedings of the state committee were to be distributed among the counties of the state.

Thus two state conventions were called at Ann Arbor, one on September 26 to vote on admission, the other on September 28 to choose presidential electors. There are accounts of a number of township and county meetings to send delegates to them and both conventions were duly held.[70] The convention which voted

[67] *Detroit Free Press,* Oct. 6, 1835.

[68] *Ibid,* July 21 and 30, 1836; *Niles Gazette,* Aug. 10, 1836.

[69] *Detroit Free Press,* Aug. 11, 1836.

[70] *Ibid,* Aug. 31, and Sept. 17, 1836; *Niles Gazette,* Aug. 31, and Sept. 7, 1836.

on admission on the terms imposed by congress opposed it by a vote of 28 to 21.[71] This action aroused opposition particularly among the Democrats and at a Democratic meeting in Detroit, October 17, a protest against it was drafted.[72] A Wayne County Democratic convention, October 29, resolved in favor of the governor's calling a second state convention to assent to the conditions of admission proposed by congress and appointed a committee of three to correspond with other counties to promote the same.[73] This was followed by a similar meeting in Washtenaw County.[74] The governor for lack of authority declined to call another convention but intimated that a convention originating with the people "in their primary capacity" might be sufficient. A circular issued by the Democratic committee of Wayne County, November 14, recommended the second convention and the movement resulted in a convention, December 14, in which practically none but Van Buren Democrats participated and which voted assent to the conditions of admission imposed by congress.

In writing of this second convention Judge T. M. Cooley has rightly said:[75] "A movement for another convention was therefore soon on foot which assumed to represent the whole people, though in fact originating in the caucuses of the Jackson party and representing that party almost exclusively." The delegates convened and "with no more authority than any party caucus, assumed the sovereign power of accepting the proposition of congress. No pretense could be more baseless than this assumption of authority by the convention. People ridiculed its meeting and christened it the 'frost-bitten convention.'" Congress accepted the action of the convention as that of the state and on January 26, 1837, passed the final act for admission. While this movement for admission was for the most part a movement of the Democratic party it caused a division in its ranks and the

[71] *Detroit Daily Advertiser,* Oct. 1 and 4, 1836; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* XI, pp. 157-159.

[72] *Detroit Free Press,* Oct. 19, 1836.

[73] *Ibid,* Nov. 1, 1836.

[74] *Ibid,* Nov. 15, 1836.

[75] Cooley, *Michigan,* pp. 223 and 224.

formation of a State Rights wing opposed to admission on the terms imposed, though all the Democrats supported Van Buren.[76]

The organization of the Democratic young men of Michigan in 1836 is illustrated by a circular issued by their state central committee in July. This was addressed to each member of the corresponding committee, one of whom was located in each county of the state, and read as follows:[77] "At the state convention of the Democratic young men of Michigan held at Tecumseh, August 12, 1835, you were appointed a corresponding member of the central committee. You are therefore requested to call a county convention of the Democratic young men in your county and appoint one delegate for each one thousand inhabitants to attend a state convention at such time as may be thought most expedient. The committee would suggest that you recommend to the several towns in your county to appoint corresponding committees; also that a county corresponding committee be appointed at the county convention. You will please confer with some person on this subject in the unorganized counties if any are attached to yours, that they may be represented in the next convention. Your views are requested with regard to the time and place of holding the next state convention."

In the presidential election of 1836, in which Michigan participated although not yet admitted as a state, her vote was strongly Democratic. Of the twenty-one counties which gave returns, all but three supported Van Buren, whose majority in the state was over three thousand and the ratio of the votes was almost two to one.[78]

[76] *Detroit Daily Advertiser,* Oct. 4, 1836; *Detroit Free Press,* Oct. 20, 1836.

[77] *Detroit Free Press,* Aug. 25, 1836.

[78] *Ibid,* Nov. 26, 1836.

CHAPTER IV.

DEVELOPMENT FROM 1837 TO 1839.

Ohio.

In this chapter it is the purpose to carry the study of the Democratic party organization in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan from the close of the presidential campaign in 1836 to the preparation for that of 1840. In Ohio and Indiana, as has been shown, the Democratic party had already become well organized and little that was new was presented in these states in this later period. The chief thing to be noted is the further solidifying and perfecting of that organization attained in these states by 1836. The same is largely true of Michigan, in which the Democratic party was quite as far advanced in organization as in the two older states. In Illinois, on the other hand, the situation was different and a conspicuous advancement was made during these three years, so that by 1840 the four states had developed similar organizations and all were well established in the use of the delegate and convention system.

The summer of 1837 contributed but little of interest in the Democratic party organization in Ohio. After the election of 1836 the next interesting and important political event in Ohio was the state convention of January, 1838, for the nomination of a governor. There was some objection to having the convention in the winter because of bad weather and roads and the difficulties of travel but the patriotic Democratic central committee could not abandon the memorable eighth of January.[1] In response to their call the editor of the *Statesman,* which was then the leading Democratic paper of the state, wrote: "Let Democrats everywhere meet, reorganize, consult, and resolve."[2] Much interest was shown in preparing for the convention, but

[1] *Ohio Statesman* (Columbus), Nov. 7, 14, and 21, 1837; (See p. 53, note 100.)

[2] *Ibid,* Nov. 21, 1837.

few new features appeared. The Fairfield County convention appointed a central committee for the county "to be reported to the state convention."[3] Washington County, while appointing delegates to the state convention, appointed a "congressional corresponding committee for the county" to be presented for the approval of the state convention.[4] This reference of such appointments to the state convention for approval was unusual and seems to have indicated a deference for that body. In Guernsey County a meeting at Washington on January 1, 1838, added six delegates to the number already appointed by a meeting at Cambridge in the same county,[5] although the number of delegates from this county who reported in the state convention was only three.[6] The first seven resolutions on political principles adopted by this meeting were identically the same as had been adopted by the Franklin County meeting, December 16.[7] Such copying of resolutions was quite common in all county meetings. The editor of the *Statesman* at Columbus coöperated with the Democrats in counties which had no Democratic paper of their own by publishing the proceedings of their meetings promptly.[8] The enthusiasm for the state convention is indicated by the fact that larger numbers of delegates than usual were appointed by the county conventions. In Franklin County, three hundred were appointed;[9] in Delaware from two hundred to four hundred;[10] in Fairfield, one hundred forty-six.[11] These delegations were the largest appointed. In the list of delegates reported at the convention, there were from Franklin one hundred fifty-six, from Delaware twenty-nine, and from Fairfield sixty-five.[12] Seven counties were represented by one each and the total attendance was six hundred fifteen from fifty-two of the seventy-

[3] *Ohio Statesman*, Dec. 26, 1837.
[4] *Ibid*, Jan. 2, 1838.
[5] *Ibid*, Jan. 5, 1838.
[6] *Ibid*, Jan. 12, 1838.
[7] *Ibid*, Dec. 22, 1837.
[8] *Ibid*, Jan. 9, 1838, editorial.
[9] *Ibid*, Dec. 22, 1837.
[10] *Ibid*, Jan. 5, 1838.
[11] *Ibid*, Dec. 26, 1837.
[12] *Ibid*, Jan. 12, 1838.

four counties then in the state. The convention nominated a governor, appointed a state central committee to serve until the next convention, and resolved that it would be expedient to hold a state convention of Democratic young men at Newark on the second Wednesday in September.

The year 1838 brought the congressional election again in Ohio[13] and a series of congressional district conventions. At the same time there are the usual accounts of township, county, and legislative district meetings but they were more numerous and better systematized than before. The Democratic papers of the state were active. An article in the *Statesman* in January listed forty-three of them and the editor suggested that they open a regular exchange until after the fall election.[14] The *Ohio Eagle* and *Muskingum Valley* at once responded to this suggestion, sending copies to all the other Democratic papers in the state, and inviting a general exchange in return. The subscriptions to Democratic papers increased rapidly at this time.[15] Resolutions in some of the county meetings favored the establishment of Democratic papers. The meeting in Guernsey County in January, already mentioned, resolved that "the establishment of a Democratic press in this county is a measure of vital importance to every true Republican in the county."[16] A Union County Democratic meeting in October resolved "that immediate steps be taken to establish a Democratic press in this legislative district" and a committee was appointed to confer upon this subject with the Democratic central committees of Marion and Crawford Counties.[17]

The most enthusiastic event of the year in Ohio was the meeting of the Democratic young men of the state at Newark. This had been suggested for September by the state convention but the Democratic young men's state central committee later issued a circular and changed the date to the seventeenth

[13] Twelve of the nineteen congressional districts elected Democratic congressmen.

[14] *Ohio Statesman*, Jan. 16 and Feb. 2, 1838.

[15] *Ibid*, Feb. 23, 1838.

[16] *Ibid*, Jan. 5, 1838.

[17] *Ibid*, Nov. 14, 1838.

of August.[18] The preparations were conducted on a vast scale. The Democrats of Pickaway County appointed two hundred delegates.[19] The Franklin County meeting referred the appointment of delegates to a committee and empowered this committee to extend the number of delegates to five hundred.[20] The meeting in Delaware County appointed "all the Democratic Republican electors of the county under the age of thirty-eight," as delegates.[21] A young men's central committee for the county was appointed and it was requested to appoint in each township a young men's committee of vigilance. The county meetings in preparation for the convention were either regular county conventions or young men's meetings. The number who attended the convention was estimated at from four to six thousand.[22] A long address and resolutions were adopted. The *Volksblatt* of Cincinnati and the *Vaterlandsfreund* of Canton were recommended to the German citizens as the only two German papers of the state which advocated doctrines of true Democracy. A young men's state central committee of seven was appointed. It was resolved "that the members of this convention use their endeavors to have Democratic Republican associations formed in each township, disseminating necessary political knowledge among the people, to secure unity of action among the Democracy of the state."

Indiana.

In Indiana after the campaign of 1836 the Democratic party relaxed its efforts and its organization declined. The following year brought the congressional and gubernatorial elections again in this state and neither awakened any organizing activity among the Democrats. The reward of this lethargy was the loss of every congressional district in the state, except the first, by a popular vote of almost 2 to 1 in the aggregate in the August

[18] *Ohio Statesman,* July 4, 1838.
[19] *Ibid,* Aug. 15, 1838.
[20] *Ibid,* Aug. 15, 1838.
[21] *Ibid,* Aug. 15, 1838.
[22] *Ibid,* Aug. 29, 1838, quoting *Newark Constitutionalist.*

elections.[23] For the governorship the Democrats did not even bring forward a candidate. Moreover there was still a decided tendency to eliminate national politics from the state election and the Democrats supported the different Whig candidates for governor.[24] The Whig party itself was much divided on the governorship, having several candidates for it, and it would have been easy to elect a strong Democratic candidate had one been presented. There is no account of nominating conventions but in October, 1837, the *Indiana Democrat* proposed that county meetings preparatory to a state convention in December, be held to discuss and adopt resolutions on political principles.[25] Other Democratic papers seconded the suggestion.[26] Although much apathy was shown, the convention assembled, December 13, and requested the party throughout the state to hold county meetings for the purpose of expressing their views and of reorganizing the party.[27] There was little response to this request. A meeting in Clark County, January 8, 1838, thoroughly reorganized the party in that county and appointed a committee to solicit contributions for defraying the expenses of publishing three thousand copies of its address and proceedings.[28] The Democratic members of the legislature and others met at Indianapolis, February 1, and appointed a committee to report to an adjourned meeting on the tenth a plan for the organization of the party in the state, and although this adjourned meeting was held and adopted a long address, nothing seems to have been done in the way of party organization,[29] and few, if any, county meetings were held preparatory to the August election. Following this election a significant statement appeared in one of the leading Democratic papers of the state. Referring to the plan of party organization recommended by the state convention of January 8, 1836, already presented, the writer said: "Had it been

[23] *Whig Almanac* (New York), 1838.
[24] *Indiana Democrat*, April 19, and May 31, 1837.
[25] *Ibid*, Oct. 4, 1837.
[26] *Ibid*, Oct. 25, Nov. 8, 15, and 22, 1837.
[27] *Western Sun*, Jan. 13, 1838, quoting *Indiana Democrat*.
[28] *Western Sun*, Jan. 27, 1838, quoting *Indianian*.
[29] *Western Sun*, Feb. 17 and 24, 1838, quoting *Indiana Democrat*.

adopted and acted upon by the Democrats, they would not have been divided in opinion respecting the proper men to receive their support, as they were at the late election."[80]

The next year more attention was given to party organization. At least some of the congressional districts held regular nominating conventions composed of delegates from the various counties of the district, chosen by conventions of delegates appointed by township meetings.[81] It was partly because of this and partly from a reaction, perhaps, that the Democrats regained their control of the state in the elections of 1839. Five of the seven congressional districts elected Democratic congressmen, and although the legislature had been Whig for several years, both branches of it then became Democratic.[82]

Illinois.

In Illinois the year 1837 marked further development in Democratic party organization. At this time occurred the first state convention which nominated a governor and for the second time a congressional district convention was held in the third, or northern district of the state. A nominating convention was also recommended for the following spring in another congressional district; the convention system was rapidly gaining favor and being adopted in the legislative districts and in the counties, and the party organization was extending to the precincts. Generally too, the Democratic editors of the state had come to favor the convention system.[83]

The movement for the state convention originated in a meeting of the Democratic members of the legislature and others in Vandalia in July.[84] This meeting which was nothing but a party caucus, though it "assembled agreeably to public notice," effected the first party organization for the state. It urged that delegates be chosen from all the counties "in such manner as they

[80] *Western Sun,* Oct. 6, 1838.
[81] *Ibid,* Mar. 30, 1839.
[82] *Ibid,* Aug. 31, 1839.
[83] *Illinois State Register,* June 9, 1837, editorial.
[84] *Ibid,* July 21, 1837.

may adopt," to meet at Vandalia the second Monday of December to nominate candidates for governor and lieutenant governor. A central committee of fifteen, five from each congressional district, was appointed to correspond with other committees throughout the state. Another committee of thirty, of which Stephen A. Douglas was one,[35] was appointed to prepare an address in the interests of the party and the convention. This address was published later and set forth the advantages of the convention system.[36] In pursuance of this call the Democrats of Sangamon County met in Springfield early in October and at their request were addressed by Douglas in support of public meetings and conventions.[37] Resolutions were adopted approving nominations by conventions and delegates were appointed to the state convention. A meeting in Fayette County early in November appointed delegates to the state convention and recommended the Democrats of the county "to hold meetings in their several neighborhoods, at the places of electing justices and constables and there elect delegates to meet in Vandalia with other delegates from Effingham County" to form a Democratic ticket for the next August election.[38] The meeting in Pike County after appointing delegates to the state convention and a central committee for the county, requested the Democrats of the several precincts to hold meetings and choose delegates to act in concert with the central committee.[39] Many counties appointed delegates and the convention seems to have been quite representative.[40] J. W. Stephenson was nominated for governor.

Early in September, 1837, an editorial appeared in the *Springfield Republican*[41] reminding the Democrats of the third congressional district that the time was approaching when it would be necessary to hold a convention to nominate a candidate for congress; that the fall terms of the courts would be a

[35] Sheahan, *Life of Douglas*, p. 35.
[36] *Illinois State Register*, Nov. 3, 1837.
[37] *Ibid*, Oct. 27, 1837.
[38] *Ibid*, Nov. 10, 1837.
[39] *Ibid*, Dec. 8, 1837.
[40] *Ibid*, Dec. 22, 1837.
[41] Quoted in *Illinois State Register*, Sept. 8, 1837.

good time for the people to hold their primary meetings to appoint delegates to it; and the third Monday of November at Peoria was suggested for the time and place. In pursuance of this suggestion a series of county meetings appointed delegates to this convention. Many of these meetings appointed delegates to both the district and the state conventions and adopted resolutions in support of the convention plan for nominations. On November 20, the convention assembled at Peoria.[42] Sixteen counties, which were about half of those in the district, were represented by forty-one delegates. A committee was appointed to prepare and publish an address to the people of the district. It was resolved that a corresponding committee be appointed, consisting of one from each county of the district, with power to call conventions at its discretion. Upon balloting for a candidate for congress, Stephen A. Douglas received a majority of the votes and was nominated.

That congressional district nominating conventions were becoming favorably considered in the southern part of the state, is shown by the action of county conventions in both the first and second congressional districts. A Democratic meeting in Clinton County in December, 1837, adopted resolutions approving conventions and besides appointing delegates to the state convention, recommended the voters in the first congressional district to appoint delegates to a convention to be held at Kaskaskia in March, 1838, to select a candidate for congress.[43] Again in the second congressional district a meeting in Edgar County in May, 1838, after appointing delegates to attend a second state convention in Vandalia in June for the nomination of a governor, authorized these delegates "if thought expedient," to meet with the other delegates from that congressional district, and in the capacity of a congressional convention, to agree upon a candidate for congress.[44] This second gubernatorial nominating convention in June, 1838, was made necessary, as Mr. Stephenson was accused of being a public defaulter and declined to run for

[42] Account given in *Peoria* (Illinois) *Register and Northwestern Gazetteer*, Nov. 25, 1837; *Globe*, Dec. 12, 1837.

[43] *Illinois State Register*, Dec. 8, 1837.

[44] *Ibid*, May 25, 1838, quoting *Illinois Statesman*.

the office of governor.[45] To meet this emergency a call was issued by the Democratic press of the state for a second convention. The convention assembled June 4. Twenty counties were represented by sixty-two delegates, the number varying from 1 to 8 from each county.[46] Thomas Carlin was nominated for governor.

The influence and leadership of the Democratic press was well illustrated in this case. An editorial in the *State Register* read thus:[47] "In favor of the reassemblage of the convention * * * we have now a considerable majority of the Democratic press." Seven papers were named as having expressed themselves in favor of it. "The question is thus settled," said the editor, "and we call upon the delegates * * * to set out at once for the convention. The first Monday in June is the day unanimously agreed upon." The *Galena Democrat* issued an extra, May 5, in which it called upon the Democracy of Jo Daviess County to meet in convention on the twenty-sixth and choose delegates to the state convention, which was done. Appreciation of the press was indicated by the Edgar County meeting which resolved:[48] "That as the success of Republican principles depends greatly upon the intelligence of the people, we would respectfully impress upon the minds of our friends the importance of a general diffusion of correct political information; and to to this end, this meeting would exhort the members of the Democratic party throughout the country, to use their influence to extend the circulation of Democratic newspapers."

The Democratic party in Illinois in 1838 elected Thomas Carlin for governor by a small majority. In the first district John Reynolds was elected to congress by the Democrats; in the second district, Zodac Casey, who had been a Democrat, was elected by both parties; in the third, or northern district, an exciting contest was waged between Stephen A. Douglas (Democrat) and John T. Stuart (Whig) and resulted in the election of Stuart

[45] Stephenson's letter of withdrawal, published in the *Galena Democrat* was quoted in the *Alton* (Illinois) *Telegraph*, May 23, 1838.

[46] *Peoria Register*, June 16, 1838.

[47] *Illinois State Register*, May 25, 1838.

[48] *Ibid*, May 25, 1838, quoting *Illinois Statesman*.

by a majority of only a few votes. It is doubtful whether he would have been elected if the election had been contested. This campaign reminds one of the greater campaign between Lincoln and Douglas just twenty years later. Stuart was the only Whig elected to congress from Illinois prior to 1840. The fact that the northern part of the state was being settled rapidly at this time, may help to explain this breakdown in the uniform Democratic success in congressional elections in Illinois. This incoming mass overpowered for the time being the machine which Douglas and the Democrats were building up and perfecting. After 1840 for a number of years the northern part of the state, except in a single district, resumed its earlier habit of electing Democrats to congress. This meant that the Democratic party organization was succeeding in assimilating a larger portion of the population, not to mention the principles, personal attachments, traditions, and prejudices involved in party affiliation.

Although the organizing activity of the party in 1839 in Illinois was largely in connection with the state convention in December for nominating presidential electors, yet there was a general expansion and solidifying of the work. Party organization was extending to the precincts, legislative district conventions were becoming common, the committee system was enlarged and perfected, and in general quite advanced ground was taken beyond that of the previous year. Thus on February 25, a Democratic meeting in the hall of representatives appointed a state central corresponding committee of seven, a committee of correspondence of three or less in each county and a committee of seven to prepare an address to the people of the state.[49] Early in the spring the "Democratic general committee" of the senatorial district about Galena issued a stirring address to the Democratic citizens of the district, urging the necessity of an immediate organization:[50] "Let the Democratic citizens of each precinct in the district meet together and appoint corresponding committees * * * and select delegates to attend a Democratic convention to be held at some central point for the purpose of

[49] *Illinois State Register,* May 10, 1839.

[50] *Ibid,* March 22, 1839, quoting *Galena Democrat,* Extra.

adopting a perfect system of organization throughout the whole district." In pursuance of this plan, a county meeting at Galena in February and a precinct meeting near Galena in March appointed delegates to a district convention to be held at Dixon in June.[51] The latter meeting appointed a committee of vigilance for the precinct.

The district convention however, was more often brought about by a county meeting than by a senatorial committee, as these had seldom been appointed at this time. In April, a large Democratic meeting in Fayette County called a district convention to be held in Clay County in October, to nominate a senator to represent Fayette, Effingham, and Clay Counties.[52] It also resolved that the delegates from Fayette and Effingham Counties at the same time and place should nominate two persons for representatives from those counties; and after appointing delegates to represent Fayette County, the meeting recommended that primary meetings be held in the other counties to select delegates to the convention. This recommendation was complied with by the other counties and the convention was duly held, the nominations were made, and a committee was appointed to draft an address to the people of the senatorial district.[53]

That the precinct was in evidence in party organization in the spring of 1839 is again illustrated by the fact that a Democratic meeting was held in the Ottawa precinct in April, which was attended by "between two hundred and three hundred" for the purpose of choosing delegates to represent the precinct in the county convention to nominate candidates for the August election.[54] A meeting in Lee County in May, besides appointing a corresponding committee for the county, named a local committee in each of the six precincts of the county.[55]

Michigan.

The Democratic party organization in Michigan in 1837 had already reached the stage of development toward which it was

[51] *Chicago Democrat,* May 1, 1839, quoting *Galena Democrat.*
[52] *Illinois State Register,* Apr. 26, 1839.
[53] *Ibid,* Nov. 9, 1839.
[54] *Chicago Democrat,* May 1, 1839.
[55] *Illinois State Register,* Nov. 30, 1839.

struggling in Illinois. From the townships through the counties and districts to the state, the system of committees, delegates, and conventions was well worked out and running smoothly. Committees of vigilance and correspondence and committees on credentials had become quite familiar and in preparation for the fall election, Detroit appointed a vigilance committee of nearly a hundred.[56] The senatorial district nominating conventions seemed more regular and to occupy a more definite place in the Democratic party activity in Michigan at this time than in any other of the northwestern states.

The chief political events of the year were the election of a governor[57] and a member of congress. The term of Mr. Crary in congress had expired in March and the legislature appointed a special election for August 21 and 22 to choose a successor in time for him to attend the special session of congress called for September.[58] The election of governor was held later. The party was divided by a small State Rights faction which made a separate nomination for governor but the vote cast was so small that it need hardly be noticed. Preparatory to these elections there were two state conventions, one for the nomination of candidates for governor and for a member of congress, and the other a convention of the Democratic young men.

The calling of the regular state convention was first suggested by a Democratic caucus of the state legislature, which was held pursuant to public notice in the hall of the house of representatives on the twentieth of June.[59] It requested the state corresponding committee to call the convention to meet at Ann Arbor the twentieth of July, to nominate candidates for governor, lieutenant governor, and member of congress. It also appointed a committee to prepare resolutions and an address to the Democratic electors of the state. This address urged the "importance of adopting early and efficient measures in every township and county in the state, to insure a full and satisfactory representa-

[56] *Detroit Free Press,* Nov. 6, 1837.
[57] Michigan elected a governor every two years.
[58] *Detroit Free Press,* June 27, and Aug. 11, 1837.
[59] *Ibid,* June 22, 1837.

tion" in the state convention.[60] In compliance with this request, the Democratic state corresponding committee on June 26, issued the call for the convention.[61] Some of the proceedings in one or two of the county conventions which met to send delegates, may be noted in passing. The convention in Livingston County, attended by delegates from all the townships, resolved "that three delegates from each organized township be entitled to seats in the county convention for the nomination of county officers."[62] Thus equal representation was provided for the townships. In the Wayne County convention a committee of one from each township represented was appointed to examine credentials of members, which was a very usual procedure.[63] Besides appointing a corresponding committee for the county, the several townships in the county were requested to appoint corresponding committees. These examples illustrate the advanced methods of organization employed in county conventions in Michigan at this time. The state convention assembled at the appointed time and a committee of one from each county was appointed to examine credentials.[64] One hundred four delegates were present from twenty-four counties. Wayne County sent sixteen delegates, Washtenaw fourteen, some only one, but the majority of the counties sent two delegates each. Some counties in the northern peninsula had delegates from the southern part of the state represent them. A special committee was appointed to examine their credentials and reported them satisfactory. After several ballotings, Stevens T. Mason was nominated for governor and Isaac E. Crary for congressman. A number of resolutions were adopted and an address was to be prepared later and published in the Democratic papers of the state. A state corresponding committee of five was appointed for the ensuing year and until their successors should be appointed, "together with an additional member from each organized county." Twenty-five such members were added.

[60] *Detroit Free Press,* Aug. 11, 1837.
[61] *Ibid,* June 27, 1837.
[62] *Ibid,* July 18, 1837.
[63] *Ibid,* July 17, 1837.
[64] *Ibid,* July 24, 1837.

Early in July the Democratic young men's state central committee issued a circular calling for a state convention to be held at Ann Arbor, July 27, and recommending that each county send the same number of delegates as it was entitled to representatives in the state legislature.[65] The committee also recommended that, for the better organization of the party, township and county corresponding committees be appointed in such townships and counties as were without them. On July 20, a second circular was issued postponing the date of the convention to October 5.[66] On August 5, the committee issued another circular recommending that the number of delegates be increased to three times the number of representatives in the legislature.[67] In preparation for this convention, township meetings appointed delegates to county conventions which in turn appointed delegates, just as in the case of the regular state convention, and similar local committees were appointed. The young men's corresponding committee of Wayne County issued a circular the latter part of July, calling upon the township corresponding committees to forward to the secretary of the county committee the names of their members, and recommending such townships as had no committees to appoint them as early as possible.[68] The Democratic young men of Detroit also organized and had their corresponding committees.[69] The convention assembled at the time and place designated.[70] Eleven counties were represented by ninety-five delegates, of whom thirty-two were from Washtenaw, twenty-seven from Wayne, and several of the counties were represented by only one delegate each. A committee was appointed to prepare an address to the young men of Michigan. A committee of five residing in Ann Arbor, was named as a state corresponding committee, and two from each county were added as corresponding members. The Democratic young men of the state were requested to hold primary

[65] *Detroit Free Press,* July 10, 1837.
[66] *Ibid,* July 25, 1837.
[67] *Ibid,* Sept. 7, 1837.
[68] *Ibid,* July 26, 1837.
[69] *Ibid,* Sept. 12, 1837.
[70] *Ibid,* Oct. 10, 1837.

meetings in their several townships to make arrangements for the ensuing election.

The Democratic papers of Michigan were active in combating those of the Whigs. An editorial in the *Detroit Press* in July in speaking of the Whig efforts to flood the state with papers, said that to meet these efforts it would be the duty of the Democrats to provide for the circulation of their own papers sufficiently to counteract them, and suggested to the Democratic county committees the propriety of attending to this in their respective counties.[71] In order to supply this greater demand the editor of the *Press* proposed to publish a larger edition from the first of August till after the November election. A census of the press of Michigan in August, 1837, gave seventeen Democratic and five Whig papers.[72]

The election gave majorities to the Democratic candidates for governor and congressman,[73] but a Democratic meeting in Detroit nobly resolved to use the money which would be expended in celebrating the victory, for the relief of the poor.[74] A collecting committee was appointed, consisting of one from each ward in the city, which was authorized to appoint a disbursing committee.

In July, 1838, the Democratic state central committee issued a circular to the county committees throughout the state, calling attention to the approaching election for a member of congress, members of the legislature, and county officers on the first Monday and Tuesday of November.[75] The committee recommended that a state convention meet at Ann Arbor, September 11, composed of four times as many delegates as there were representatives in the legislature; and that each county unorganized send two delegates. One hundred seventy-five delegates attended the state convention representing twenty-two counties.[76]

[71] *Detroit Free Press,* July 19, 1837.

[72] *Ibid,* Aug. 10, 1837.

[73] *Ibid,* Sept. 5, and Dec. 13, 1837.

[74] *Ibid,* Nov. 28, 1837.

[75] *Niles* (Michigan) *Intelligencer,* July 18, 1838; *Detroit Free Press,* July 16, 1838.

[76] *Niles Intelligencer,* Sept. 19, 1838; *Detroit Free Press,* Sept. 17, 1838.

The ratio of representation in the different counties was about the same as in the preceding conventions. It was resolved that when ten members should require it, the ballotings should be by counties, each county having the same number of votes as the number of delegates to which it was entitled, which votes were to be determined by the majority of its delegates present. After nominating Isaac E. Crary as a candidate for congress, the convention adopted a series of resolutions on political principles and policy, and appointed a state central corresponding committee, consisting of one member from each of the seven senatorial districts of the state. It was earnestly recommended to the Democracy of the state to perfect without delay a strong organization in the respective counties.

The Democratic young men of the state were again active in 1838, and in the latter part of July their corresponding committee issued a circular recommending the committee of each county to call a county convention, for the more thorough organization of the party and the election of delegates to a state convention, to be held at Ann Arbor on the eighteenth of September.[77] It was recommended that the number of delegates be four times the number of representatives in the legislature and that each county not having a representative be entitled to three delegates. The convention drafted an address and resolutions and appointed a central corresponding committee of three, located at Ann Arbor.[78] The corresponding committees of the counties for the past year were reappointed.

The apportionment of representation in county and district conventions, and the division of counties into representative districts were often carefully arranged by committees. Thus in the senatorial convention for the seventh district, a central committee for this district, consisting of three members, was appointed which was to apportion the number of delegates.[79] In the Berrien County convention, a committee of one from each township was appointed to apportion the number of delegates to

[77] *Detroit Free Press,* Aug. 1, 1838; *Niles Intelligencer,* Aug. 22, 1838.

[78] *Detroit Free Press,* Sept. 25, 1838.

[79] *Niles Intelligencer,* Sept. 26, 1838; *Detroit Free Press,* Sept. 28, 1838.

represent the different townships in this convention.[80] In the Wayne County convention a committee was appointed to divide the county into representative districts, from each of which a candidate was to be nominated for the legislature.[81] In the Lenawee County convention a committee divided the county into districts for sending senatorial delegates.[82]

A few other Democratic organizing activities deserve mention. A state organization called the "Democratic Society of the State of Michigan" was formed at Detroit in August, to carry out the principles of the party, and held occasional meetings.[83] The German citizens of Detroit met in October and passed resolutions approving the Democratic nominations for state and county offices.[84] About the same time French Democratic citizens of Wayne County assembled and adopted a spirited address and resolutions, and several speeches in the French language were made to the meeting.[85] A meeting of the "adopted citizens" of Detroit also passed resolutions and appointed a vigilance committee. Democratic meetings were held in each of the wards of Detroit, after which, by order of the several ward committees, a meeting was held of all the Democrats in the city.[86] A vigilance committee of thirty-two was appointed to attend the polls on the days of election, and ten were named as challengers to be present at the canvassing of the votes. At the elections of 1838 in Michigan, as in the previous year, the Democratic ticket prevailed.[87]

The year 1839 was comparatively uneventful in party organization in Michigan. In March, Detroit was reorganized into six wards,[88] and in April, meetings in all of these sent delegates to a Detroit Democratic convention to nominate candidates for

[80] *Niles Intelligencer,* Sept. 5, 1838.
[81] *Detroit Free Press,* Sept. 3, 1838.
[82] *Ibid,* Sept. 15, 1838.
[83] *Ibid,* Aug. 21, 1838.
[84] *Ibid,* Oct. 21, 1838.
[85] *Ibid,* Oct. 25, 1838.
[86] *Ibid,* Oct. 31, and Nov. 5, 1838.
[87] *Ibid,* Dec. 21, 1838.
[88] Farmer, *History of Detroit,* p. 147; Act of Michigan Legislature, March 27, 1839.

city offices.[89] Printed notices in blank for calling ward meetings were provided by the office of the *Detroit Press.*[90] In July the chairman of the Democratic state corresponding committee issued a call for a state convention to be held at Ann Arbor, September 11, for the purpose of nominating candidates to be supported for the offices of governor and lieutenant governor on the first Monday and Tuesday of November.[91] The usual series of township and county meetings preparatory to the state convention was held. One hundred forty-nine delegates attended and the candidates for governor and lieutenant governor were nominated by ballot.[92] A committee of one from each of the seven senatorial districts drafted resolutions. Three delegates were appointed to attend the national convention at Baltimore in May, to nominate a president and vice-president. A state corresponding committee was appointed, consisting of six residents of Detroit and a resident of each of the seven senatorial districts, thirteen in all, a majority of whom had power to call the next state convention. This state committee on September 30, issued a lengthy address to the Democrats of Michigan.[93]

From the first Wednesday of September until after the election in November, a weekly campaign paper, *The Democratic Republican,* was advertised to be issued from the office of the *Detroit Free Press* by the Democratic Association of Detroit.[94] Preceding the November election a series of rally meetings was held in Detroit. Special effort was made to gain the foreign population and one of the meetings was addressed by several Irishmen who endeavored to win the Irish vote.[95] But in spite of these systematic efforts the tables were turned and the election brought victory to the Whigs.[96]

[89] *Detroit Free Press,* Apr. 12, 1839.
[90] *Ibid,* Apr. 4, 1839.
[91] *Ibid,* July 8, 1839; *Niles Intelligencer,* July 17, 1839.
[92] See *Detroit Free Press,* Sept. 13, 1839, for account of convention
[93] Published in *Detroit Free Press,* Oct. 2, 1839.
[94] *Ibid,* July 15, 1839.
[95] *Ibid,* Nov. 1, 1839.
[96] *Ibid,* Nov. 11, 1839.

CHAPTER V.

CAMPAIGN OF 1840.

Ohio.

There remain to be sketched the chief organizing activities of the Democratic party throughout the Northwest in preparing for and conducting the campaign of 1840. First in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois came the state conventions of December, 1839, and January, 1840, for the nomination of presidential electors. This convention was not held in Michigan until June, 1840. In the Northwest generally the campaign was marked by more activity than usual in the way of organization, not to mention the great mass meetings, celebrations, and speeches. There was not much that was new in the way of organization. The object of the party was rather to utilize to the utmost all that had been developed so that all the machinery previously organized was then brought into use.

In Ohio the most interesting political organizing activity in 1839 was the preparation for the biennial state convention of January 8, 1840. Unusual enthusiasm was shown and although the formal call for the convention was not issued by the state committee until early in November, a number of the counties had anticipated it and had already appointed delegates. In the circular which called the convention the committee said: "The first great object to be accomplished is an organization of our strength. To do this effectually we must have a rallying point. * * * The committee prefer making no suggestions as to the ratio of delegation. Each county will judge in that point and send such number as they may prefer."[1] The county meetings appointed delegates accordingly. The Champaign County convention recommended "that as many attend the state convention as could."[2] The Morgan County convention specially appointed

[1] *Ohio Statesman*, Nov. 6, 1839.
[2] *Ibid*, Nov. 20, 1839.

seventy-three "and all other Democratic citizens of this county who may attend."[3] One hundred thirty-eight were appointed in Perry County with power to appoint any others who should happen to be in Columbus on January 8.[4] In Delaware County fifty-four were chosen, "with power to add such others as they may think proper."[5] The Seneca County convention appointed thirty-nine "and all other Van Buren Democrats of Seneca County who may choose to attend the Columbus convention."[6] One hundred twenty-five were appointed in Richland County,[7] one hundred thirty-seven in Knox,[8] and one hundred eighty-eight in Ross County.[9] Some county conventions appointed delegates from the townships, others appointed them from the county as a whole and still others combined these two methods of appointment. The general committee of arrangements for the convention met in Columbus, December 26, and appointed a finance committee of three to collect funds to defray the expenses incident to the convention, and a committee of three to procure powder and superintend the firing of cannon.[10] Nine hundred twenty delegates attended from seventy-two counties.[11] The attendance was so large that the convention adjourned to the state house yard and held its deliberations in the snow. The officers chosen for the meeting consisted of a president, twenty-one vice-presidents, and five secretaries. Committees were appointed to draft an address and resolutions, and to select twenty-one presidential electors who were instructed to vote for the nominees of the coming national convention. Twenty-one delegates, two senatorial and one from each of the nineteen con-

[3] *Ohio Statesman*, Dec. 13, 1839.
[4] *Ibid*, Jan. 8, 1840.
[5] *Ibid*, Dec. 31, 1839.
[6] *Ibid*, Dec. 31, 1839.
[7] *Ibid*, Dec. 24, 1839.
[8] *Ibid*, Dec. 27, 1839.
[9] *Ibid*, Dec. 27, 1839.
[10] *Ibid*, Dec. 27, 1839. The firing of cannon was perhaps rather to aid in the recurring celebration of the victory of New Orleans, than to aid the convention.
[11] For account of convention, see *Ohio Statesman*, Jan. 8, 9, and 10, 1840.

gressional districts, were selected to attend this convention at Baltimore in May. Governor Shannon was nominated for a second term. A state central committee of seven was appointed to serve for two years with power to fill vacancies in the electoral ticket. It was recommended that the Democratic young men of Ohio hold a convention on the third Wednesday in August at Mt. Vernon.

The organizing activity of the party in Ohio in 1840 exceeded that of any previous year. The whole population was astir and there was probably not a township in the state which did not have its appointed meetings for the election of delegates. A number of Democratic associations were formed and Hickory Clubs were reorganized or formed anew. The organization was frequently extended to the school districts. The Irish, the Germans, and the young men all were active and contributed their parts to organization. Political orators, too, with their elaborate itineraries, infested the state as never before; and great mass meetings, far overshadowing in number and size anything which had previously been held, were characteristic of the campaign.

The following examples will illustrate a number of these facts and show the general tendencies. A Hamilton County meeting in February recommended the establishment of Democratic associations in the wards and townships which should hold meetings for free discussion once a week and report their proceedings to the Democratic association at Cincinnati.[12] Early in February in Butler County, was formed the "Democratic Association of Hamilton and Rossville", which recommended "the revival of the *Hickory Club* [a newspaper] for disseminating correct political information."[13] The officers of the association and the central Democratic committee of the county were to appoint an editorial committee to conduct the paper. The latter part of February an active Hickory Club was formed by the citizens of Canton[14] and about the same time a similar club was formed in Columbus which met biweekly.[15] The Hickory Club

[12] *Ohio Statesman*, Mar. 10, 1840.
[13] *Ibid*, Feb. 25, 1840.
[14] *Ibid*, Mar. 10, 1840, quoting *Stark County Democrat.*
[15] *Ohio Statesman*, Mar. 13, 1840.

in Madison County in July arranged for a public discussion on the subject of the next presidency.[16] In April the editor of the *Statesman* wrote that it was something new to see the township elections carried by party tests.[17] A Clermont County meeting in February appointed committees of vigilance in each township and authorized them to organize the school districts by appointing subcommittees if they deemed it expedient.[18] A Harrison County meeting selected township committees and requested them to appoint a subcommittee of vigilance in each school district.[19] A committee of vigilance for each school district was appointed in Guilford township, Medina County.[20] A Democratic Irish Club was organized by the Irish citizens of Fairfield County.[21] In May and June the Democratic Germans of Seneca County held meetings and organized.[22] A Democratic meeting of Germans was held at Columbus, September 1, and those present agreed to meet once a month to discuss politics.[23] A little later the Germans held a similar meeting in Fairfield County.[24]

Late in June the state central committee of the Democratic young men of Ohio issued a call for the state convention in August which had been recommended by the convention in January.[25] The call stated that the most ample preparations would be made for the accommodation of the thousands who would be in attendance; that the distinguished men of the Democracy of the Union had been invited and were expected to be present at the convention; and it recommended to the younger Democracy of Ohio that, upon this occasion, they so far depart from an established usage as to come themselves instead of sending delegates. The convention assembled at Mt. Vernon on

[16] *Ohio Statesman,* July 8, 1840.
[17] *Ibid,* April 15, 1840.
[18] *Ibid,* Mar. 10, 1840.
[19] *Ibid,* Mar. 10, 1840.
[20] *Ibid,* Sept. 30, 1840.
[21] *Ibid,* Mar. 10, 1840, quoting *Ohio Eagle.*
[22] *Ohio Statesman,* June 3, 1840.
[23] *Ibid,* Sept. 9, 1840.
[24] *Ibid,* Sept. 30, 1840.
[25] *Ibid,* July 8, 1840, quoting *Mt. Vernon Banner.*

August 19 and held sessions in the grove at 7 A. M., 10 A. M., and 7 P. M.[26] A committee of three from each congressional district nominated a president, nineteen vice-presidents, and six secretaries; other committees drafted resolutions and an address to the young men of Ohio. Addresses were made by Col. R. M. Johnson, Governor Shannon, Senator Allen, and others. A state central committee of nine was appointed to hold office till their successors should be appointed. The attendance was estimated at twenty thousand. This was the largest meeting in the state, though a number of local meetings were notably large. A mass meeting at Dayton was attended by from ten thousand to fifteen thousand, and one at Mansfield by ten thousand. A Democratic nominating convention in Clermont County, August 15, was attended by three thousand.[27] As already suggested the stump speaker was in evidence in the Northwest in 1840 as never before. Long itineraries were planned covering the territory as thoroughly as possible.[28] Col. R. M. Johnson, Governor Shannon, and Senator Allen were the most prominent Democratic speakers. Colonel Johnson also visited Michigan and Indiana and addressed a series of Democratic mass meetings in each of these states.[29]

Indiana.

In Indiana, aside from these numerous mass meetings and speakers, there was little that was new in the machinery of the campaign of 1840. Early in September, as usual, the movement began for the state convention on the eighth of January and county meetings began to be called for the appointment of delegates.[30] The Washington County meeting at Salem, September 14, 1839, after passing resolutions in support of the convention system and appointing delegates to the state convention,

[26] Account given in *Ohio Statesman,* Aug. 26, 1840.

[27] *Ohio Statesman,* Aug. 26, 1840; *Niles' Register,* Sept. 5, 1840, quoting *Cincinnati Advertiser.*

[28] *Ohio Statesman,* Aug. 5 and 19, Sept. 26 and 30, 1840.

[29] *Ibid,* Sept. 26 and 30, 1840; *Western Sun,* Sept. 26, 1840; *Detroit Free Press,* Sept. 21, 1840.

[30] *Western Sun,* Sept. 7 and 21, 1839.

urged every Democrat of the county "to take, read, and circulate some public newspaper supporting sound Democratic principles."[31] It was further resolved "that every Democratic Republican in this county consider himself a committee of vigilance in addition to the township committees." The Pike County meeting resolved that "in order to sustain Democratic principles in the first congressional district and to regain the ground we have lost, it is indispensably necessary that we establish and maintain a good Democratic paper in said district, and that we patronize such paper to the utmost of our ability."[32] In Green County the method of choosing delegates to the state convention was unique. The county meeting chose a delegate from each of the townships and these were to meet and select from their number at least two to attend the convenion.[33]

. The convention was said to be attended by at least six or seven hundred from eighty of the eighty-four counties of the state[34] and was the largest thus far in Indiana.[35] Its chief object was to nominate candidates for governor and lieutenant governor and to select the nine candidates for presidential electors. The electors, as usual, were chosen by committees from the respective congressional districts. The candidates for governor and lieutenant governor were selected by a committee of seventy-two from the senatorial districts. A state central committee of seven was appointed with power to fill vacancies in the electoral ticket. The convention urged a generous support of Democratic newspapers; that conventions be held by the Democrats in every county in the state that year; that delegates

[31] *Western Sun,* Oct. 5, 1839.

[32] *Ibid,* Nov. 23, 1839. This was in the southwestern district of the state and was one of the two districts in Indiana which the Democrats lost in 1839.

[33] *Ibid,* Nov. 23, 1839.

[34] *Madison* (Indiana) *Courier,* Jan. 18, 1840.

[35] A brief account of the convention is given in the *Western Sun,* Jan. 25, 1840. See also *Globe,* Jan. 16 and 30, 1840; *Niles Intelligencer,* Jan. 29, 1840. John Buttorf, a delegate from Charlestown, Clark County, and a soldier of the Revolution, being unable to attend, sent a note of regret (published in the *Sun*), and enclosed a $5.00 bill to aid in defraying the expenses of the convention.

to these be chosen in primary assemblies, and that the nominees of these conventions be supported by the party. The nominees of this state convention were requested to expound these principles in every portion of the state. A long address to the people of Indiana was prepared by a committee, the chairman of which was Robert Dale Owen, who read the address to the convention.[36] Five thousand copies of it and the proceedings were ordered to be printed and distributed by a committee of three from each congressional district.[37] The convention appointed no delegates to the national nominating convention which was to meet in Baltimore in May. To supply this omission a Democratic meeting of "senators, representatives, and other citizens of the state" was held at the capitol, February 17, and appointed delegates from each congressional district.[38]

The further organizing activity of the party in Indiana in 1840 needs but a word in conclusion. There are accounts of the usual county and legislative district nominating conventions. Knox County, about Vincennes, showed excellent organization. Democratic associations were formed in most or all of its townships with their formidable array of officers including president, vice-presidents, recording secretary, corresponding secretary, treasurer, committee of vigilance and elections, committee of distribution, and committee of correspondence.[39] These associations held frequent meetings. In Indiana as in Ohio the political orator was conspicuous in the fall of 1840. In this work Col. R. M. Johnson and Robert Dale Owen did efficient service. Itineraries were mapped out for them by the party committees. Johnson wrote to Hon. John W. Davis, saying that after he reached Lafayette it would be his purpose to comply with such arrangements as might be thought most advisable.[40] Accordingly the local committees mapped his itinerary in much the same manner as is done for campaign speakers today.[41]

[36] *Niles Intelligencer,* Jan. 29, 1840.

[37] *Madison Courier,* Feb. 15, 1840.

[38] *Ibid,* Feb. 29, 1840.

[39] Accounts of the organization of these associations in *Western Sun,* Aug. 29—Oct. 10, 1840.

[40] *Western Sun,* Sept. 26, 1840.

[41] *Ibid,* Sept. 26, 1840.

Illinois.

In none of the other states of the Northwest did the Democratic party organization develop so rapidly in 1839-40 as in Illinois. This was because less advancement had been made there than in the other states, yet enough to prepare the soil thoroughly for the most rapid growth. In the fall of 1839 the preparations for the presidential campaign began. The Democratic state central corresponding committee issued a circular, October 10, calling a state convention at Springfield the second Monday in December, "for the purpose of adopting a more efficient system of organization and also to nominate candidates for presidential electors."[42] The circular read: "You are requested to immediately consult with your friends and call a meeting in your county and appoint delegates to the proposed convention. * * * We would recommend an expression of opinion in your resolutions upon the subjects that agitate the country and upon the following particularly." Six subjects were then listed, four on national, and two on state politics, which served as standard texts for resolutions throughout the state. This explains the striking similarity of the resolutions adopted by the different county meetings at this time. The circular further recommended the appointment of corresponding committees of three for the counties, at or near the county seats, and committees of vigilance of three in each justice's precinct, to continue as permanent committees until others should be appointed. It requested that the proceedings of the meetings be forwarded to the *State Register* and to local Democratic papers for publication.

This call met with a generous response from counties throughout the state.[43] Many of the county meetings effected good county and precinct organization by appointing committees of correspondence and vigilance. A number of the preparatory meetings, too, were regular county conventions, composed of delegates from meetings in the precincts. The whole process was entered into much as it had been in the older states.

[42] *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), Apr. 3, 1840.

[43] See *Illinois State Register,* Nov. and Dec., 1839.

The tendency to become more systematic and regular in procedure was shown in a senatorial district convention at Naperville, November 15.[44] After fixing a definite ratio of representation to county and district conventions, it was resolved, "that subsequent conventions receive no one as delegates therein, either original or appointed to supply vacancies, unless they shall produce authentic certificates of election, or of their appointment under some authority of the primary meeting; and in no case shall a vacancy be filled unless by some person from the ward or precinct vacant." It was voted that it should be the duty of the senatorial district corresponding committee to notify the corresponding committee of each county, and of the latter to notify each precinct of all calls of the district convention in future. At this time too, large mass meetings addressed by political orators abounded in Illinois. The fall campaign preparatory to that of 1840 began by a mass meeting in Springfield, November 19, which was addressed by Lincoln and Douglas in debate.[45]

The state convention met at Springfield, December 9, and was the largest thus far held in Illinois.[46] Two hundred forty-three delegates attended from fifty-six counties. The number of delegates from the different counties varied from one in many cases, to twelve and fifteen from Sangamon and Morgan. It was resolved, "that all regularly appointed delegates and such substitutes for absentees as those delegates have appointed, shall be received and considered as members of this convention." Resolutions and an address were adopted and five presidential electors were chosen, one from each of the three congressional districts and two at large for the state. A state central corresponding committee of nine was appointed, of which Stephen A. Douglas was chairman. A committee of five was to publish ten thousand copies of the proceedings and address and distribute them throughout the state. To defray the expense of this, they were authorized to receive contributions. A resolution was adopted in favor of a young men's state convention in June.

[44] *Chicago Democrat*, Apr. 29, 1840.
[45] *Sheahan*, Life of Douglas, p. 41.
[46] *Illinois State Register*, Dec. 14, 1839.

The members pledged their influence and means to extend the circulation of Democratic newspapers. The Democratic editors of the state as a body were prominent in the convention.[47]

The spring of 1840 brought renewed activity in all parts of the state. An editorial in one of the leading papers of Illinois at that time read: "The convention system is becoming popular throughout the state. Both Democrats and Whigs are resorting to it as the best means of concentrating party strength and the best index of public sentiment. Thus far the regular nominees have been considered as binding upon both parties in the selection of candidates for August next."[48] Later the same editor wrote concerning a district convention to be held at Naperville, urging those who were not delegates to remember that "a rigid adherence to regular nominations constitutes the salvation of Democratic principles."[49] Precinct meetings now became quite common, and regular county and district conventions were held throughout the state. To illustrate the working of the system, as it was developing, and before committees had been appointed, a precinct meeting in Sangamon County in February, recommended a county convention in Springfield to nominate candidates for the August election and elected nine delegates to this convention.[50] This led to a call for the convention signed by one hundred ninety-five persons and published in the leading papers of the county.[51] The call requested all the Democratic voters of Sangamon County to meet in their respective precincts and appoint nine delegates from each to the county convention to nominate candidates for county offices and the legislature. The other three counties of the senatorial district were requested to send delegates from each of their precincts to this convention, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the senate. The convention met at the time appointed and although but one precinct outside of Sangamon County was represented, a senator was nominated.[52] Sangamon itself was well repre-

[47] *Illinois State Register,* Nov. 16, 1839, quoting *Quincy Argus.*
[48] *Chicago Democrat,* Mar. 30, 1840.
[49] *Ibid,* May 20, 1840.
[50] *Illinois State Register,* Mar. 13, 1840.
[51] *Ibid,* Mar. 27, 1840.
[52] *Ibid,* Apr. 17, 1840.

sented and nominated county officers and representatives. A senatorial district convention at Dixon, on the other hand, was attended by delegates from seven of the ten counties of the district.[53]

In pursuance of the recommendation of the state convention a movement for a young men's state convention in June was begun in the spring. Meetings in Will, LaSalle, and Cook Counties all appointed large numbers of delegates,[54] but owing partly to the fact that June was a busy time for farmers and perhaps still more on account of apathy, only a few counties responded. Accordingly the state committee at Springfield issued a circular[55] on May 13, suggesting that it was inexpedient to hold the young men's convention in June and the movement was dropped.

A Democratic meeting which casually assembled in Springfield early in June, recommended the Democracy throughout the state to meet at their respective county seats on the fourth of July for the purpose of organizing and harmonizing the party in each county.[56] Although at least one meeting was accordingly held in Sangamon County, this recommendation seems to have had no important results.[57] Early in September a "Sangamon Democratic Association" was formed at Springfield which adopted "articles of association" which were signed by one hundred two names.[58] One of the articles was: "Every citizen believing in the Democratic principles adopted by Thomas Jefferson, the apostle of American liberty, and who will attach his name to these articles, shall become a member of this association." An executive committee of nine was appointed which was requested to transmit a copy of the constitution to the Democratic citizens in each county of the state with the request that they organize associations as soon as possible. The association held meetings every Saturday night. About the middle of

[53] *Chicago Democrat,* Apr. 13, 1840.
[54] *Ibid,* Mar. 23 and Apr. 29, 1840; *Illinois State Register,* May 8, 1840.
[55] *Illinois State Register,* May 15, 1840.
[56] *Ibid,* June 12, 1840.
[57] *Ibid,* June 26 and July 10, 1840.
[58] *Ibid,* Sept. 18, 1840.

October, through its executive committee it issued a stirring address to the voters of Illinois urging them all to attend the election.[59]

The usual series of great mass meetings addressed by stump speakers was held this season in Illinois as elsewhere, but one of the most important factors in securing the success of the Democrats at the polls in Illinois in 1840, was that of staying the suit in the courts for the disfranchisement of aliens and thus retaining the alien vote till after the fall election. This result was accomplished largely through the efforts of Stephen A. Douglas and secured about nine thousand additional votes for the Democratic cause, and thus saved the day by a small majority for the Democracy in Illinois.[60]

Michigan.

In Michigan before 1840 the Democracy had already shown perhaps, the best party organization in the Northwest and in the campaign of this year it maintained its high standard. On the first of February a call was issued from Detroit, signed by fifty-four citizens from eighteen counties, for a meeting of the Democratic citizens of the state at Detroit on February 22, "to take the necessary measures to insure the success of the Republican party at the next general election."[61] Democratic editors of the state were requested to extend the call. This meeting of the twenty-second urged upon the Democracy throughout the state the necessity of holding monthly meetings.[62] Those present resolved to exert themselves to the utmost of their ability, "to produce and perfect a thorough county, town, village, and school district political organization" and "to place information as far as possible in the hands of every voter." A committee of five was appointed to promote all these objects.

On the twentieth of April the state central committee issued a call for a state convention to be held at Marshall on the twenty-fourth of June, to nominate candidates for presidential

[59] *Illinois State Register,* Oct. 23, 1840.

[60] For account of this see Sheahan, *Life of Douglas,* pp. 43-47.

[61] *Detroit Free Press,* Feb. 6, 1840; *Niles Intelligencer,* Feb. 12, 1840.

[62] *Detroit Free Press,* Feb. 24, 1840; *Niles Intelligencer,* Mar. 4, 1840.

electors and a representative in congress, and directed the county corresponding committees to take proper steps to have delegates appointed.[63] One hundred four delegates from twenty-nine of the thirty-one counties then in the state attended the convention.[64] As the national convention had left the nomination for the vice-presidency to the states, R. M. Johnson was nominated for reelection by this state convention and an invitation was extended to him to visit Michigan that summer. Candidates for presidential electors were nominated and both they and other nominees of the party in the state generally were urgently requested to deliver addresses and expound and disseminate Democratic principles. After an interesting contest[65] a candidate for representative in congress was nominated. A state central committee of seven residing at Detroit was appointed; also a state corresponding committee in each of the counties of the state, composed of three members, residing in one place. The counties, townships, and school districts which had not already done so, were urged to effect immediate organizations and their committees were requested to circulate Kendall's Extra *Globe* and other Democratic newspapers, speeches, and documents. The address to the people of the state prepared by the committee, filled nineteen columns of *Niles Intelligencer* and was published in four installments in this paper during September.

There were evidences here and there of solidifying and perfecting the party organization. The Berrien County Democratic committee restricted to a definite apportionment the number of delegates from the townships to the county convention.[66] The Democratic committee of Niles township, Berrien County, had a regular committee room where meetings were held and addresses given each Saturday evening for many weeks.[67] A "Democratic German Society of Michigan" was organized and held meetings

[63] *Detroit Free Press,* Apr. 21, 1840; *Niles Intelligencer,* Apr. 29, 1840.

[64] For account of convention see *Detroit Free Press,* June 29, 1840; *Niles Intelligencer,* July 8, 1840.

[65] *Detroit Daily Advertiser,* June 30, 1840; *Detroit Free Press,* July 1, 1840.

[66] *Niles Intelligencer,* Sept. 9, 1840.

[67] *Ibid,* Aug. 26-Oct. 7, 1840.

every three months.[68] The Democratic association of Detroit met each month and a committee provided for an address at each meeting.[69] The Democratic ward committees of this city together formed the Democratic general committee which held meetings semimonthly.[70]

Political oratory was in demand this year in Michigan as elsewhere. Mr. Felch, the Democratic candidate for congress, was to address the citizens in seventeen different counties in October.[71] A political discussion was arranged to take place at Niles between J. S. Chipman and N. L. Stout, each of whom was to speak two hours, and another hour was given each for rejoinder.[72] Democratic newspapers too were supported. The Democratic association of Genesee County included in its bond of association, the obligation of its members to obtain for it a press.[73] Early in May a Democratic reading room in the city of Detroit was established by the Democratic committee of the city, where the leading Democratic papers of the state and county were provided.[74] An Ingham County Democratic meeting appointed a committee of three in each township to obtain subscribers for a paper advocating Democratic principles.[75] Beginning on August 12, the *Detroit Free Press* issued an Extra for three months as it had done for a shorter time the previous year.[76] This was particularly for the use of Democratic county committees for campaign purposes. An Ionia County meeting circulated a paper for subscriptions to the Extra *Free Press* and other Democratic papers for general distribution in that county.[77]

But notwithstanding all this organizing activity of the Democracy of the Northwest, it failed to withstand the opposi-

[68] *Detroit Free Press,* Apr. 15, 1840.
[69] *Ibid,* Apr. 23, 1840.
[70] *Ibid,* May 12 and Sept. 16, 1840.
[71] *Ibid,* Oct. 1, 1840, gives itinerary.
[72] *Niles Intelligencer,* Sept. 30, 1840.
[73] *Detroit Free Press,* June 13, 1840.
[74] *Ibid,* May 14, and June 13, 1840.
[75] *Ibid,* Feb. 22, 1840.
[76] *Ibid,* July 24, 1840.
[77] *Ibid,* June 8, 1840.

tion arising from the Panic of 1837 and the allurements of the "Log Cabin and hard cider." The Democracy of the Northwest had not only learned the lesson of organization themselves; they had unintentionally taught this lesson to their rivals so well that with its aid and that of the above forces, the pendulum swung back and brought victory to the Whigs. With the exception of a small majority saved in Illinois, the Whig reactionary wave swept everything before it in the Northwest.[78]

[78] Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan supported Harrison for president by good majorities. In the congressional election of 1840, Ohio elected Whigs in twelve of its nineteen districts and Michigan elected a Whig as her only representative. In Indiana and Illinois the elections to the twenty-seventh congress did not occur until 1841, when Whigs were elected in six of the seven districts of Indiana, and in two of the three districts of Illinois.

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